

474

# THE NATIONAL AND ENGLISH REVIEW

Vol. 147

SEPTEMBER, 1956

No. 883

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## STRUGGLE FOR SUEZ

*The Editor*

## STEVENSON : THE CHALLENGER

*Honor Balfour*

AND OTHER CONTRIBUTIONS

PUBLISHED MONTHLY

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A

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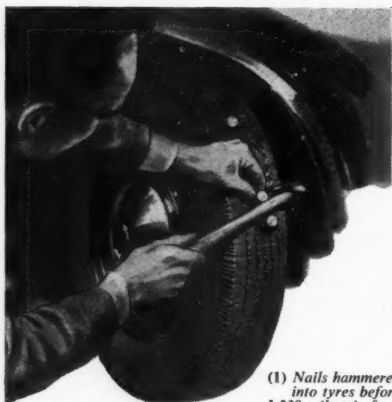
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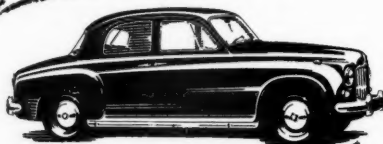
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## *Episodes of the Month*

### STRUGGLE FOR SUEZ

THIS month we shall devote all our editorial comment to the Suez crisis, which began—inconveniently—just after the August issue went to press and is still by far the most important item in the news. Its implications are far-reaching and full of menace for the future, quite apart from the embarrassment which it has already caused to the denizens of Downing Street, who were surprised in a state of nakedness between the rejection of one policy and the adoption of another.

#### **“A Better Understanding”**

“Downing Street” in this context means, of course, not only the Prime Minister but also the Foreign Office. At the present rate there will soon have to be a nation-wide movement to liquidate this Department, whose existence seems to be almost more of a liability than an asset. On July 24th Mr. Selwyn Lloyd spoke as follows during a Foreign Affairs debate in the House of Commons :

There has recently been a welcome improvement in the tone adopted by the Press and radio in Egypt towards this country. If this continues, then there is scope for the re-creation of a better understanding, and we for our part will do nothing to diminish the possibility of the fulfilment of that hope—

Mr. Denis Healey here anticipated the fulfilment of a memorable, perhaps historic, piece of official claptrap by interjecting the word “Aswan”, but Mr. Lloyd was clearly determined that his elaborate sentence should not be cut short. Before attempting to deal with the Aswan question, he added :

—but shall do what we can to maintain friendly relations between the two peoples.

On July 26th—two days later—President Nasser announced to an exultant crowd in Alexandria that Egypt was taking over the Suez Canal Company, lock, stock and barrel, and would use revenue from the Canal to build the Aswan High Dam.

#### **Why Did Nasser Act ?**

There can be no doubt that Aswan was the precipitating cause of Nasser's sudden decision to nationalize the Suez Canal Company. Mr. Healey's interruption was very much to the point. On July 19th the American Government had stated its reasons—ostensibly economic, but in fact political as well—for withdrawing its offer of \$56 million towards the cost of building the proposed High Dam at Aswan ; and the British Government had at the same time withdrawn its contingent offer of \$14

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million, with a similar explanatory statement.

Nasser's reaction to this reversal of policy could and should have been foreseen. It might not have been possible to say with exactitude that he would take over the Suez Canal Company on such and such a day, but it should have been evident that he would attempt some bold and dramatic stroke to restore his prestige and regain the initiative. The Aswan project has been described as "the favourite child of Colonel Nasser's government." Though it cannot even be begun until the agreement of the Sudanese has been obtained (and their concurrence can by no means be taken for granted) its purpose is to bring two million more acres of land under cultivation and to double Egypt's electricity supply. The Egyptian people have already sunk a lot of emotional capital in the scheme, and a threat to its realization is a mortal threat to the revolutionary régime. Nasser was compelled to hit back hard and quickly, and while aiming his blow at the West he was careful to say that the Russians had offered a long-term loan for the dam without conditions. The extent of Russian willingness to help him financially is still not clear, but the fact that he felt it necessary to refer to this alternative source of capital, combined with his statement that revenue from the Canal would be used for the dam project, show how important Aswan is to him and his associates.

That Mr. Selwyn Lloyd and the Foreign Office could seriously think that "a better understanding" with Nasser would be possible after the withdrawal of Aswan aid is almost beyond the bounds of credulity. But the performance of Britain's diplomatic "experts" in recent years is such that we must now assume there is no folly, no miscalculation, no blundering, pompous fatuity, of which they are incapable.

### Legality—and Reality

Nasser's announcement set many pens a-scratching on the subject of international law and whether or not his seizure of the

Canal Company was a legitimate exercise of sovereign rights. The picture which emerged from this controversy was highly confused, and there was certainly no reason to assume that an appeal to the Hague Court would be any more helpful to us in the case of Suez than it had been in the case of Abadan.

Many commentators therefore tended to go to the opposite extreme and suggest that we act in total disregard of the legal position. *The Times*, for instance, said in a leading article on August 1st :

Quibbling over whether or not he [Nasser] was "legally entitled" to make the grab will delight the finicky and comfort the fainthearted, but entirely misses the real issues.

And again on August 3rd :

No sheltering behind legalities can excuse Nasser's act. The Canal is too important to be left without proper international safeguards.

At the same time it was recognized and acknowledged, though never with sufficient clarity and emphasis, that in reality Egypt was bound to control the Canal, whatever the legal status and composition of the operating body. Thus on July 30th *The Times* had said :

President Nasser's seizure of the Canal Company is an inexcusable act, but it does not . . . directly alter the present security position on the Canal. Since Britain withdrew her forces from the Zone, Egypt has been alone in guarding the Canal.

The author of this comment might have added that, even before British evacuation of the Canal Zone, Egypt had been effectively prohibiting the passage through the Canal of ships bound to or from Israel.

In the light of these facts it was hard to take very seriously the moral and legalistic arguments which were deployed against Nasser. The whole issue was manifestly one of *Realpolitik*, in which talk of the United Nations or international law was to be treated not as having any inherent significance or value, but as part of a very difficult game, in which countries morally in the right might easily find themselves technically in the wrong.

## EPISODES OF THE MONTH

### False Analogy with Pre-War

Failure to appreciate this point was aggravated by much foolish reminiscing on the subject of Abyssinia, the Rhineland, Munich, etc. It may have been a comfort to some journalists and public men, who were conscious of having been utterly mistaken about foreign affairs in the nineteen-thirties, to lecture their compatriots on the need for firmness. But it should be made absolutely clear that there is no analogy between what we can do about Nasser in 1956, and what we could have done about Hitler in 1936 (or with Mussolini, for that matter, though he was never the priority threat). If we had taken action against Hitler on any of the big occasions when it was our duty and interest to do so, we should have been technically, as well as morally, unassailable. In other words, legality would then have consisted in using force. This cannot unfortunately be said to apply in our present dispute with Egypt. Unless Nasser gives definite provocation, by acting violently against British nationals or against Israel, our right to act violently would be challenged and we might very well be branded as aggressors before the world. Even discrimination against our ships going through the Canal would not necessarily justify us in using violence. In any case it would be most unwise for us to attack Egypt on our own, or with only the support of France and (conceivably) the United States. Meanwhile we are fully justified in taking military precautions, but these should on no account be given the appearance of jingoistic threats.

### Western Reactions

The two countries which reacted most promptly and sharply to the Alexandria speech were Britain and France. Sir Anthony Eden made a wise statement in Parliament, which combined firmness with a suitable diplomatic vagueness. But he insisted that the Suez Canal could not be left "in the unfettered control of a single Power which could, as recent events have shown, exploit it purely for purposes of



Photo : Associated Press.

NASSER MAKING HIS ALEXANDRIA SPEECH.

national policy." This statement (though its reference to "control" was, as we have shown, somewhat academic) did not deprive him of freedom to negotiate and did not commit him too closely to any particular form of authority for the Canal. It is a great pity that he ever abandoned this initial caution and reticence.

When Nasser struck Mr. Dulles was in Peru—yet another illustration of his excessive proneness to travel. (Foreign Ministers should *have travelled* during their lives, and should know about foreign countries, but they should be most reluctant to move around during their term of office. By doing so they merely exhaust themselves, irritate others, and are likely to be out of touch at some vital moment.)

Partly for this reason the American Government was slow to grasp the gravity of the situation, but before long Mr. Dulles was on his way to London to join Mr. Selwyn Lloyd and M. Pineau (the French Foreign Minister) in preliminary talks about the crisis. The outcome of these talks was that it was decided to call a conference of 24 nations to meet in London



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on August 16th and "to establish operating arrangements [for the Canal] under an international system . . ."

The criterion according to which nations were invited was arbitrary, though not unreasonable. Parties to the Suez Canal Convention of 1888 were asked, though successor States of the Turkish Empire were not included in this category. In addition a number of maritime nations, with a major interest in the Canal, were invited to send representatives. In the event only two nations refused—though one of these was Egypt.

### Grave Errors

The main criticism of the invitations must be that they were issued by a committee of Western nations—by the so-called Western "Big Three." It would surely have been wise to call India into conclave with Britain, France and America at the very outset, thereby demonstrating that concern for the Canal was strongly felt East as well as West of Suez, and avoiding the appearance of "colonialism" re-imposing its will upon the emergent nationalism of the East. If this had been done, it is quite possible that Indian and Western policies would not subsequently have diverged, and the London Conference might have been a much greater success than in fact it was.

Another grave error was Sir Anthony Eden's broadcast on August 8th, in which he demeaned himself by making a personal attack on President Nasser. It is never a good plan to blackguard publicly foreigners with whom it may be necessary to negotiate, and attempts to drive a wedge between nationalist leaders and their followers are almost invariably useless; indeed they are more likely to do harm than good. With all his faults—and they are certainly glaring—Nasser is the undoubted leader of Egypt and in some ways the most gifted and uncorrupt politician that country has ever produced. He cannot be classed with Hitler, though he may never achieve the balance and statesman-

ship of Kemal Ataturk.

"We all know it is how Fascist governments behave," said Sir Anthony Eden, and: "With dictators you always have to pay a higher price later on." This use of ideological catch-phrases was both inaccurate and impolitic. "Fascist" governments are not always aggressive—General Franco, for instance, has been most careful to keep out of foreign adventure—and we have no right to quarrel with, or make rude remarks about, a foreign government, whatever its political complexion, unless it is aggressive. As for dictators, many of them have been and are our friends. Would the Prime Minister say of Dr. Salazar that his "appetite grows with feeding"? And what are our own Colonial Governors if they are not dictators? Could Sir John Harding be described as a democratic figure, administering responsible government in Cyprus? Sir Anthony Eden's language exposed both himself and the British nation to ridicule.

### "Life and Death"

The Prime Minister also said in his broadcast: "This is a matter of life and death to us all." Assuming that he meant life *or* death, can we agree that this was a fair statement of the situation? On the whole, it seems that he was exaggerating the importance of the Canal, though no one could deny that it has come to play a very important—indeed a much too important—part in our economy.

This is particularly true in regard to our oil supplies. About a third of the oil moved northward through the Canal in 1955 came to this country. Yet it has been calculated (by Mr. Norman Crump of the *Sunday Times*) that

one tanker fetching us oil from the Persian Gulf round the Cape, and a second fetching us oil from Venezuela, could bring us, in a given time, about the same amount of oil as these two tankers could bring us from the Persian Gulf via the Suez Canal.

The problem of dollars would of course arise, but it should be possible to settle

## EPISODES OF THE MONTH



SIR ANTHONY EDEN OPENING THE LANCASTER HOUSE CONFERENCE.

*Photo: Planet News.*

this during an emergency period by agreement between the British and American Governments.

For general trading purposes Britain is almost more dependent than any other country upon the Canal. About a quarter of our import and export trade is with countries normally reached via Suez, but it does not follow that interruption of traffic through the Canal would fatally affect this large proportion of our trade. Besides, many other countries, though less dependent than we are, would also be put to much inconvenience if the Canal were closed and would have to adapt their economies and their trade routes. About 11 per cent. of the total traffic has been going to or from India, Pakistan, Ceylon, and Burma—a fact which is of special significance when compared with the 12 per cent. which has gone to or from America. Clearly the Asian nations have as large an interest as the United States in the Canal.

But of course the country to whom it means most is Egypt. If new pipelines, and perhaps a new Canal, are constructed, and if ships are re-routed to avoid possible

discrimination by Egypt against them, or uncertainty in transit owing to inefficient working of the Canal, or exorbitant dues levied by the Egyptian authority—then Egypt will have thrown away an immense asset and will be in an even more parlous economic condition than she is now. To depend upon a nation's goodwill is always dangerous, but a nation's self-interest can more safely be relied upon. As has already been pointed out, we cannot escape from the reality of Egyptian control over the Canal; but unless we enforce a showdown—with incalculable consequences—through trying to impose some particular form of organization against the wishes of Egypt, we can be reasonably sure that the Canal would be kept in good working order and that it would not be closed to the ships of any great trading nation. Egypt's needs are worth infinitely more than any written safeguards.

### Results of the Conference

The conference of twenty-two nations was held at Lancaster House, while Nasser proclaimed his refusal to accept



any form of international operating body for the Canal, and his willingness to submit the dispute to a much larger conference (on which he could be sure of obtaining a majority). In spite of this unpromising atmosphere, the London Conference was not a total failure. Seventeen nations supported a plan put forward by Mr. Dulles, while Russia supported an alternative plan put forward by Mr. Menon of India. Support for the Dulles plan came broadly from the trading nations of the West and the Baghdad Pact nations, including Pakistan. These together represent quite an impressive consensus of opinion, but the non-participation of India is a disastrous weakness.

A committee of five nations, headed by Mr. Menzies of Australia, has been entrusted with the task of submitting the majority plan to Egypt. As we go to press, the result of this *démarche* has yet to be seen, but it is hardly likely that Nasser will capitulate to a delegation of this kind, especially as it is headed by a white-faced imperialist. Certainty that Nasser would refuse to negotiate on the basis of the Dulles plan was India's reason for not supporting it. And it may well be that the Indian solution, though on paper much less satisfactory, would in effect have been better—if what is wanted is an agreed solution.

### What is Our Aim?

There are some indications, however, that certain Western Governments, including our own, do not want an agreed solution, but are primarily concerned to break Nasser before he has established too strong a moral hold upon his own people and the Arab world.

This is not a simple crisis: it is full of complexity. At the personal level it is a question whether or not President Nasser on the one hand, and Sir Anthony Eden on the other, will keep their jobs. At the economic level it affects many nations,

though none so much as our own country and Egypt. At the political level the whole future of the Middle East is at stake. If Nasser's gamble comes off, his ascendancy will be irresistible and every Middle Eastern country will turn against the West. Whatever happens, Western oil companies are likely to have more to contend with in the future, though the oil-bearing countries, remembering what happened in Persia, will probably be careful not to destroy utterly the main source of their prosperity.

For Britain the moral is that our statesmen and diplomats must adjust themselves to the mid-twentieth century world. It would be tragic indeed if we were to align ourselves with France in our attitude towards the Middle and Far East. We cannot dictate to the world; we cannot patronize new nations with impunity. Still less can we resist the pressure of nationalism; we can only hope to make terms with it by showing that we understand and respect it. More important to us by far than the Suez Canal, is the London-Delhi relationship, which has been compromised by our handling of the present dispute. Of course we should be firm, but firm in partnership with other Commonwealth nations. To be out of step with India on this issue makes our strong professions seem either empty or dangerous.

The great Lord Salisbury used to say: "Are you prepared to fight?—because, if not, you had better hold your tongue." If we are prepared to fight over Suez without a cast-iron case, and with only a limited number of allies, we must be insane. How much better, therefore, for the Prime Minister to have held his tongue and to have sought, through patient and flexible diplomacy, to salvage as much as he could from the wreck of his Middle Eastern policy, while retaining intact the strong and growing friendship between East and West, which the Commonwealth has made possible.

THE EDITOR.

# U.S. AND SUEZ

By DENYS SMITH

AN American Presidential campaign is the wrong time for an international crisis. De Tocqueville, writing over a century ago in his famous study of American democracy, said; "Long before the appointed time is at hand the election becomes the most important and all-engrossing topic of discussion. . . . As the election draws near the activity of intrigue and the agitation of the population increase; the citizens are divided into several camps each of which assumes the name of its favourite candidate; the whole nation glows with feverish excitement; the election is the daily theme of the popular papers, the subject of private conversation, the end of every thought and every action, the sole interest of the present. As soon as the choice is determined this ardour is dispelled; and as a calmer season returns the current of the State, which has nearly broken its banks, sinks to its usual level; but who can refrain from astonishment at the causes of the storm?"

A practical illustration that things have changed but little in the interval was provided when Eisenhower held his first press conference since his operation on the same day that Dulles arrived in London to discuss the Suez crisis. Out of a total of thirty-three questions only two dealt with the Suez Canal and one of these was asked by a foreign journalist. The only American journalist sufficiently interested to ask a question was worried about the Panama Canal being internationalized if an international regime were proposed for the Suez. All other questions bore some relation to the political campaign and were directed almost entirely to the President's health and his attitude towards Stassen's activities on behalf of Governor Herter of Massachusetts as Vice-Presidential candidate instead of Nixon.

Both the President and Dulles appear to have been concerned at the very evident lack of public interest. When Dulles came back from London his report on the London

conference was delivered in the most impressive manner possible on a nation-wide radio and television programme with the President acting as master of ceremonies. Eisenhower, in introducing Dulles, said that he was "vastly disturbed" by Nasser's action. Dulles said that Egypt's exploitation of the Canal for its own purposes was "inadmissible." But neither he nor the President said what the United States would do if the Suez conference failed. This vagueness was contrary to the principle often expressed since the war that the United States should make it perfectly clear in advance when it would fight, so that no potential aggressor would provoke war through failure to understand the dire consequences. It could, of course, be argued that the Suez seizure and the issues involved were not quite the same as an attack on a nation belonging to a defence alliance, such as N.A.T.O. or S.E.A.T.O.; and the United States has been equally vague over whether or not it would defend the Formosa off-shore islands in the process of defending Formosa from Chinese Communist attack. However, when Dulles arrived at the airport from London, he did not say "We will not meet violence with violence." He said "We do not want to meet violence with violence." At the back of his mind there may well have been the additional thought "till after the Presidential election is over on November 6."

After November 6, the political current will subside, but until then the predominant public attitude towards the Suez crisis is irritation that it should intrude at such a time. If there had been any strong division between the two political parties on the way the crisis was handled by the United States, so that it could have become a major issue in the campaign, matters would no doubt have been different. But American Middle East policy, or the lack of it, is thoroughly bi-partisan. Though the Democrats have begun to criticize its consequences Dulles has been accused

abroad of pulling the trigger which set off the crisis by refusing to help Egypt build the Aswan Dam. But before Dulles acted American aid for the Aswan Dam had been opposed by the Democrats and the announcement that aid had been withdrawn was praised by the Democrats.

Nasser is personally unpopular, but in much the same degree as Nehru, Tito or even "Nye" Bevan are unpopular. There is, outside pro-Israel circles, little emotional feeling about him or conviction that he must be checked before it is too late. His seizure of the Suez Canal Company is looked upon not so much as an act of angry defiance, but as part of a long chain of events for which many must share the blame. In the background lies American traditional misunderstanding of Western "colonialism" and sympathy for any nation which struggles for its "freedom." But to start with more recent events there was the effort made as part of the Cold War to close the ring of Western power around the threatened Soviet periphery by promoting the "Northern tier" concept, which led to the Baghdad Pact. The Soviet Union played leap-frog over this new defence line on its southern border by offering, through its satellite Czechoslovakia, to sell arms to Nasser's Egypt. Nasser, more interested in his conflict with Israel than in any possible conflict with Communism, readily accepted. The West then attempted to win him back to its side by offering to help with the Aswan Dam. Nasser appeared for a time to be in the happy position of a maidenly flirt, whose hand was sought by two wealthy suitors.

Then the Cold War tensions began to relax and the importance of winning Nasser's favours began to grow less. Moscow appeared to be reaching much the same conclusion as Washington. So Nasser decided that he had better accept the American offer. Meanwhile political opposition to Aswan Dam aid had been growing in the United States. There were right-wing Republicans who objected to aiding any nation not linked by formal alliance to the United States; there were Southern Democrats who objected to encouraging a competitor in the world's

cotton market, and there were pro-Zionists who objected to any help being given to an enemy of Israel. So the Egyptian Ambassador was abruptly told, when he called on Dulles July 19, with the news that Egypt would accept American aid, that the offer of aid was withdrawn. Nasser was now in a desperate position among his own people and throughout the Arab world. Only a dramatic move could save his prestige and power. So he seized the Suez Canal. In short not Nasser, but the Cold War was mainly to blame. If there had been no Cold War there would have been no Baghdad Pact, no Baghdad Pact no Czech arms sale, no Czech arms sale no offer of aid to build the dam, no withdrawal of the offer no seizure of the canal. Nasser cannot fairly be held accountable for all the trouble, it is argued. He tried to exploit a situation created for him by others.

When this feeling that Nasser is in part a victim of circumstances beyond his control is combined with an instinctive American objection even to the appearance of taking the side of "colonialism" and a determination, stronger than ever in an election year, not to become involved in any fighting, it is perhaps easy to see why American backing of the Anglo-French position has fallen short of what could have been desired. In addition there are few American canal stockholders, the United States does not depend, as does Britain, on Middle Eastern oil, while the Suez is in no sense America's economic life-line or jugular vein.

The American Presidential campaign itself appears likely to be one of the duller on record. There are no big issues dividing the two parties. But this does not mean that there will therefore be room for more adequate attention to outside problems such as the Suez crisis. It means in all probability that minor domestic issues will be puffed up out of their due proportion. When the synthetic political thunder and lightning is over, as de Tocqueville said, "who can refrain from astonishment at the causes of the storm?" In the meantime one can hope, with fingers crossed, that the solid friendship of Britain

## U.S. AND SUEZ

and the United States can be maintained intact till the American political current "sinks to its usual level."

### Footnote on Panama

The American Government automatically rejects any suggestion that international arrangements made for the Suez Canal might provide a precedent for similar arrangements for the Panama Canal. There is no likelihood of the United States advocating an international arrangement for the Panama Canal in order to make a similar arrangement more palatable for Nasser. The two canals are entirely different, it is maintained. So they are, in many respects. The Panama Canal Company is legally American and not subject to nationalization by Panama, while the Suez Canal Company was legally Egyptian and so came under Egyptian law; the Panama Canal Zone has been leased in perpetuity to the United States while the Suez Canal was acknowledged to be Egyptian territory; no international convention similar to that of 1888 guarantees freedom of passage through the Panama Canal; finally, Panama has no financial temptation to seize the Canal, since it now receives an annual payment of around £700,000 from America for it.

Former President Truman repeated at the Chicago Convention a statement made in his published memoirs that he had proposed internationalizing the Panama Canal at Potsdam, and still thought it a good idea. Truman's memory has at times been proved faulty. Admiral Leahy in his book *I Was There*, based on his diary, says that the Truman proposal at Potsdam referred to European waterways only. Byrnes, the former Secretary of State, agrees. But whether Truman ever got as far as proposing internationalizing Panama or not, there is little support for the idea now. The charge that it was proposed to "give away" Panama would be very damaging in an election year. If there has to be any change in the status of the Panama Canal, America would prefer, as the lesser of two evils, that it be regionalized, not internationalized. It could be brought into relationship with the Organization of

American States, which might even designate the United States as the operating agent, leaving the practical situation unchanged.

But whatever the differences between the Suez and the Panama Canals, both are waterways of great importance to all maritime nations. Moreover, the Panama Canal provides an example of something very close to the use of force by the United States to assure a vital lifeline.

Just as the idea of the Suez Canal is as old as the Pharaohs the idea of an Isthmian Canal is as old as Philip II. Ever since his day it was taken for granted that some time it would be dug, probably across Nicaragua. In its early period the United States did not have the wealth to carry out the undertaking, yet protested violently in the name of the Monroe Doctrine whenever any other country, particularly Britain, showed an interest in such a project. Finally, in 1850, the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was signed, which provided that neither Britain nor the U.S. should keep sole control of any future Isthmian Canal, or fortify it, but that it should remain open to all.

Shortly afterwards the United States became involved in the Civil War, while Britain was less eager to construct an Isthmian Canal after the Suez was opened in 1869, giving her a short route to the East. The question became a live one again when de Lesseps, flushed by his achievement in Egypt, organized the French Panama Company. By this time the United States felt able to construct the canal herself and President Grant started to negotiate with Colombia for a concession. The Clayton-Bulwer treaty was looked upon with disfavour. President Hayes declared in his annual message to Congress of 1889: "The policy of this country is a canal under American control. . . . It will be the great ocean thoroughfare between our Atlantic and Pacific shores and virtually a part of the coastline of the United States."

During the Spanish-American War the spectacular cruise of the *Oregon* from the Pacific, to join the blockading squadron before Santiago, increased the demand for

a canal which would eliminate the immense detour round the Horn. Anglo-American relations at this time were passing through a phase of remarkable cordiality and the British Government agreed to revise the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty so that America could construct, control and fortify the canal. The Hay-Pauncefote treaty of 1901 waived any British rights, but provided that the canal, when built, could be used by all ships on an equal basis.

Meanwhile the French Panama Company had gone bankrupt and a large part of its stock passed at a nominal price into the hands of American speculators. Their influence tipped the scales in favour of the Panama route, though two Commissions had recommended the Nicaragua route. Congress in 1902 approved the purchase of the old French Company and at the same time authorized the purchase of a canal zone strip from Colombia. "Teddy" Roosevelt negotiated a treaty with Colombia which was rejected by the Colombian Senate in October 1903. This was not only a shock to the American Government, anxious to get on with the canal, but alarming to the holders of Panama stock and irritating to the people of Panama anxious to profit from the prosperity which building the canal would bring them.

Then, most providentially, on November 3, 1903, there was a revolution in Panama, which proclaimed its independence from Colombia. The Washington Government kept its hands technically clean but it did nothing to interfere with plans concerted in New York by Dr. Manuel Guerrero, a Panamanian, and Philippe Bunau-Varilla, a French adventurer. Varilla saw Roosevelt and Secretary Hay and felt confident as a result of his talks that American warships would stand by the rebellious Panamanians in an uprising against Colombia. When the ships arrived the State Department on November 3 sent a cable to its Consulate at Colon asking to be kept informed of the uprising which had not yet taken place. American marines landed and prevented Colombian troops from dealing with the revolt when it finally broke out. Within three days

the new Republic of Panama was recognized by Roosevelt and in a few weeks a treaty negotiated granting the United States a ten-mile strip across the Isthmus to construct the Canal. Roosevelt later said: "If I had followed traditional, conservative, methods I should have submitted a dignified State paper of probably two hundred pages to Congress and the debate would have been going on yet. But I took the canal and let Congress debate. And while the debate goes on the canal does also." The United States tacitly admitted its responsibility for the revolt in 1921 by paying Colombia some £6,000,000 for the loss of Panama.

The morality of the American action has often been questioned. The United States showed little more compunction in brushing aside Colombian opposition than a railway company, pushing across the Continent, had in ignoring the protests from some Indian village which straddled its proposed tracks. The affair at least demonstrates that "Western colonialism," now so frequently denounced in the United States, was not confined entirely to Western Europe.

One other incident in connection with the Panama Canal is illuminating in the light of Western fears that unfettered Egyptian control would give no guarantee of free and equal treatment for all shipping. Despite the Hay-Pauncefote treaty Congress passed a Panama Tolls Act, signed by President Taft in 1912, discriminating against foreign shipping. It has already been noted that President Hayes referred to the proposed canal as virtually part of the American coastline. Congress took the assertion literally and assumed that American ships passing from one ocean to another were engaged in coastal trade and so did not come within the scope of the equality clause.

Britain protested and the ensuing argument cast a shadow over preparations for celebrating 100 years of Anglo-American peace, which had existed since the 1812-14 war. Joseph Choate, who had been American Ambassador in London when the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty was signed, was one of those most active in the



United States in denouncing the Tolls Act. In one speech he said: "If ever two men deserved the gratitude of their respective nations, and each of the other's nation, those men were John Hay and Lord Pauncefote, perfectly plain straightforward men who believed that it was their part to say what they meant and mean what they said, and to express in perfectly clear English what was in their minds. And when they said that the ships of all nations should have free and equal passage they meant just that. They lived and died without ever once sus-

pecting that their words were capable of any other meaning."

President Wilson, who wanted British support for his Mexican policy, asked Congress in 1914, shortly before the Canal opened, to repeal the Panama Tolls Act as a violation of a treaty with Britain. After a hot debate between those who denounced "truckling" to Britain and those who denounced "truckling" to the shipping trust, Congress substituted a schedule of equal charges for all vessels of all countries.

DENYS SMITH.

## STEVENSON: THE CHALLENGER

By HONOR BALFOUR

THE Democratic Party were in deep depression. The Minnesota primary result had just come through. Though at that point the Party chiefs were not officially committed to any one candidate, unofficially they were for Adlai Stevenson to a man. But what could they do with this result? Would Estes Kefauver get the nomination? Surely not: a nice enough guy at home, no doubt—but as a Presidential candidate? The Democratic Party chiefs chilled at the thought. Maybe Harriman, so far "keeping his feet clean" in New York, could be brought in as a third man to save the situation? If it could not be Stevenson, then let it be Harriman. Or maybe it would be better to try and do a deal with Kefauver if he were to keep on winning like this: maybe put it to him that he would never stand as good a chance in the Presidential election as would Stevenson, whatever the primaries might produce, and that he would do better to accept a Number Two position as Stevenson's running mate. Yes, perhaps that would be it; a Stevenson-Kefauver ticket for November.

Such was the thinking of Democratic Party chiefs in March of this year, when Stevenson was at his lowest. As the results of the Chicago Convention voting came in over the tape, my mind went back to those many discussions which I had had in Washington with Democratic leaders. Odd that their calculations had in fact worked out exactly, though the road to the conclusions has not been as they had expected. Far from Stevenson having to be helped home by Party manœuvres, he has himself achieved the triumph—and a triumph it is, for he has won over both circumstances and himself.

The first time I met Adlai Stevenson was early one morning in the little town of Waverley, some thirty or so miles west of Minneapolis. It was at the height of the Minnesota primary campaign. The whole State lay several feet deep in snow and her ten thousand lakes were frozen hard. Across the flat countryside, the caravan of campaign cars flashed at 80 m.p.h. over the icy roads and pulled up to a crackling, frosty stop outside the white frame school-house. Thirty or forty supporters were

waiting on the steps. Muffled in fur-lined ear-flapped caps, brightly-checked zippered jackets and knee boots, they kicked their feet against the several degrees of frost. Stevenson was accompanied by his loyal friend and colleague Bob Blair. As he stepped out of the big black Pontiac, he looked more ready for a town business appointment than for a country campaign meeting—neat in grey trilby, dark grey English-style lounge suit, and clerical-coloured overcoat. I had expected a taller man, more robust, more obviously confident. Instead this modest, compact figure might have been Lord Attlee in the old days at Walthamstow or Lord Samuel at Darwen. Indeed not only in physique is Adlai Stevenson of the same model, but in mind too: of mien and speech and method of presentation. There is the same clarity of thought and judgment, the same terse manner, impatience with stupidity or insincerity, the same succinct and telling tongue, precise yet bold, at once courteous but cutting. Indeed as I got to know him better, the similarity was more and more persistent.

That meeting was the first of nearly thirty to which I accompanied Adlai Stevenson during the Minnesota campaign. It set the pattern. The steam-heated hall was packed. Though it was barely 9 a.m., whole families had come in from as far as sixty or more miles away. Men in their working clothes had left their farms and brought their wives and children: since most American farmers are working owners, there were no bosses or unions to consult. Scattered around were blue-jeaned schoolchildren and down the side aisles well-coiffured, high-heeled young matrons strutted with collecting boxes. Behind the stage, spruce housewives were preparing coffee and doughnuts—which proved to be our main diet day after day, meeting after meeting. It was a quiet, serious audience, despite the effective and fiery oratory that swept over it from Senator Humphrey (who unsuccessfully contended for the Number Two ticket at Chicago). There was no rousing reception for candidate Stevenson when he rose to speak, but a warm welcome

and rows of utterly interested faces.

Again I felt the same surprise as he stood at the rostrum. Instead of an ebullient politician, a cocksure candidate or a confident orator, here was a man looking more like a university lecturer—and a rather nervous lecturer. If he were performing in a film studio, the producer would no doubt set him on a box: for he is short in the legs, and his long body and egg-shaped head seem too large in proportion. His hands, too, are small, with full pink fingers that drum nervously on the table until he is well into his speech. The blue eyes, too, have a nervous, uncertain expression until he has got the feeling of his subject. And the mouth and cheeks take on a doleful, jowly look—until suddenly they are transformed at some thought that sends the whole countenance into a radiance of humour. At once, the uncertainty vanishes, the lugubrious expression is gone, and the whole physical being of the man changes to a taut, tight-knit, alert creature, ready to take on any challenge, to do battle anywhere, tirelessly and ceaselessly and vehemently.

Stevenson has been criticized for talking over the heads of his audience and for sprinkling his speeches with a wit that is more academic than popular. "Maybe he does sometimes, Ma'am," said one "dirt farmer" to me as we crowded together at a meeting in Sauk Rapids, "but I understand every word he says." Which perhaps answers the critics. The sort of thing he told those audiences was that they, members of the American nation, had become "guardians of a civilization built in pain, in anguish and in heroic hope . . . if we creak, the world will groan. If we slip, the world will fall. But if we use our right of initiative and of decision without bombast or bluster, if we use it with clear heads and steady nerves, we shall rise in strength and grow in majesty and the world will rise and grow with us." I have seen parallel phrases accepted by ordinary British voters from Sir Winston Churchill, and nobody accuses him of talking over his audience's head. Similarly, Stevenson will throw in the odd laugh with a crack such as his favourite:

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## STEVENSON: THE CHALLENGER

"What I say to the Republicans is this—you stop telling lies about my Party and I'll stop telling the truth about yours."

Nevertheless in the Minnesota campaign, Stevenson was not at ease. His speeches were clearly based on a carefully polished text. He himself valiantly drank innumerable coffees from coloured cardboard cups, talked with eager helpers in crowded passages to and from platforms and dutifully ate with non-alcoholic cider farmers in remote areas. But between times, he held himself aloof. He flew in his private charter-plane where he had to cover over 100 miles between meetings, or he travelled by car surrounded by his close personal associates. He never set foot on a sidewalk or looked inside a factory or shop or market. He relaxed only among his own friends when he got back to his hotel at night—usually well after midnight. It was then that over a "cold toddy" (bourbon on the rocks with sugar and water) and a jumbo hamburger he would become completely himself. The strained face muscles vanished. The eyes twinkled and there was laughter and vigorous talk all round. Whatever his qualifications for the Presidency of the United States, he certainly has many of the qualifications for the Head of an Oxford College.

The climb back from the Minnesota debacle was arduous. It was Mr. Stevenson himself who once declared there were "no gains without pains"—the truth of which he has now learned. Once he had made up his mind to fight back, he cancelled his much-needed vacation in Florida and set to work to profit by the vote-winning tactics of Estes Kefauver. How hard he worked and how firmly he mastered his own personal distaste for such antics was clear by the end of the primaries campaign. By that time, he was out on his feet talking to passers-by in California, chatting with taxi drivers and bus conductors as their vehicles stopped at traffic lights, and dining in back-street cafés. The result was excellent. For nobody can be more delightful than Adlai Stevenson when he sets about it. Nor, despite his innate withdrawing from



*Associated Press.*

ADLAI STEVENSON AT THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION, CHICAGO, 1956.

such exhibitionism, would the experiences it brought be lost on him. For he is keen to learn his politics in practice. By the end of the campaigning, the erstwhile amateur politician had become a professional; although he has fought a previous Presidential election, he was still an amateur when it came to getting down to real vote-winning in this last series of battles.

In a way, Stevenson has always been an amateur in politics. That is to say, he is not a trained or a professional politician, though his family have provided several political names in the past. His great-grandfather, Jesse W. Fell, trudged into Illinois, knapsack on shoulder, in 1832. Lawyer, real estate developer and city planner, he was a staunch Republican and became a close friend of Lincoln. On his father's side, his grandfather, Adlai Ewing Stevenson, walked into Illinois beside a wagon in 1852—and became ultimately a Vice-President.

The present Adlai Ewing Stevenson was born in February 1900 in Los Angeles where his father was Assistant Manager of

the Hearst paper *The Examiner*. When young Adlai was six, the family returned to their town of origin, Bloomington, in Illinois, where he and his sister Elizabeth (Buffie) grew up in a big Victorian house on East Washington Street. He was a rather puny child and very much his possessive mother's boy. But he was no stay-at-home because of that. He went to a public school and got his nose broken three times in fighting the lads. He was no scholar, however. He was "a nice, harmless, pleasant guy," says one of his class-mates; "we used to call him 'Rabbit'."

At Princeton he was interested in politics but more interested in journalism. To-day he still envies journalists. "You're what I always wanted to be," he once said to me ruefully, "but somehow I never made it." He edited the *Daily Princetonian* and begged his father to let him go into a newspaper office. But his father was for the law. So young Adlai headed off for the Harvard Law School. But within two years, he dropped out because of his low grades. He shifted to the North Western University where he did better and passed his law exam. in 1926. He became a Chicago lawyer and joined in the social life of the North Shore. He rode to hounds at Lake Forest and became President of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations. He married Ellen Borden, daughter of the wealthy milk products family, and has three sons—Adlai (25), Borden (23) and John Fell (19).

1933 began a long record of minor administration in public service. In the New Deal days he acted as special counsel to George N. Peek, administrator of the new Agricultural Adjustment Act. By 1941 he was special assistant to Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy. Two years later he led a civilian mission to Italy to work on occupation plans. It was there that he first decided to run for elective office. He was shocked by a public opinion poll which showed seven out of ten American parents as not wanting their sons to enter public life. "Think of it!" Stevenson recalls, "boys could die in combat but parents didn't want their

children to give their living efforts towards a better world. I decided then that if ever I had a chance, I would seek elective public office."

But before he had that chance, Stevenson worked as Assistant to two Secretaries of State—Edward Stettinius and James Byrnes. He also worked with the United States delegation at the United Nations San Francisco Conference. It was not until 1947 that he got his chance of elective office. In that year, the State of Illinois was in turmoil over a morass of bribery charges and other political corruption. A few of Stevenson's friends got up a "Stevenson - for - Senator" Committee. But the then Professor of Economics at Chicago University, Paul Douglas, was already slated for Senator. So Stevenson was switched to run for Governor. He sailed to the State House on the plea that "People want something better than all this cynical, costly, gang Government."

The Governorship was a tough job, especially for an amateur. But Stevenson was dogged and determined. "Plain talk, hard work and prairie horse sense" was his motto. He travelled all over the State, studied continuously, was never off the job. In the first three years he had cleaned up Illinois a good deal. He had not hesitated to act whenever he saw the need. He sent State police out to stop commercial gambling, for instance, when local officials failed to act. He lopped 1,300 political hangers-on off the State pay-roll. He established a merit system in the State police force where 500 jobs had been political plums. He pushed through seventy-eight bills to streamline State Government. This and more did Stevenson achieve in those early years as Governor of Illinois.

He was reluctant to be nominated for Presidential candidate in 1952. He wanted to be left to get on with his Governorship. He did not want to fight Eisenhower, nor did he want Truman's endorsement, for these two men have never really melded well together. Yet his Illinois record of administration and his mixture of idealism and sound sense brought him the nomination. In his acceptance speech he stirred

## STEVENSON : THE CHALLENGER

fresh inspiration by refusing to dwell solely on the benefits he would propound but rather on emphasizing the challenge ahead: "Let's talk sense to the American people," he declared. "Let's tell them the truth." And then came that famous phrase—"let's tell them that there are no gains without pains."

So far as one person is concerned, Mr. Stevenson's 1952 defeat was one of the world's dramatic moments. As the *Sunday Times* said a little later: "... out of defeat, he won a victory ... for clear thinking and fearless speaking, for liberalism in its least partisan sense, a victory which has left him, though a private citizen, a world figure." Indeed, only Wendell Wilkie had made so meteoric an ascent to world respect. Like Wilkie, Stevenson made a world tour after his defeat. In Britain, he was greeted with an abundance of bonhomie that led him to comment with that little-boy smile of his: "I reckon I fought my election in the wrong country."

Originally he intended returning to his legal practice once he got back home. But within a year he was back on platforms again. The great issues of nations were disturbing him and he had to speak his mind.

What will be the issues of the coming Presidential campaign and what may be Adlai Stevenson's chances?

At home, the main issues will most assuredly be Mr. Eisenhower's health, farm prices and segregation; abroad, the level of America's economic commitments and of her defence forces and their deployment, and the United States' attitude towards the Communist world.

Mr. Stevenson has said that he will not make Mr. Eisenhower's health an election issue. But he does feel strongly on the danger of the Presidency becoming what he calls "a part-time job."

On farm prices, Mr. Stevenson will be loyal to his Party platform. In the early stages of the primaries, he was loth to be led too far by Senator Humphrey in the direction of Government supports, for while he believes in Government aid where needed, he is against lining the pockets of wealthy farmers while farm surpluses pile

up in more and more aluminium bins all over the countryside.

On segregation, the Democrats have probably chosen wisely in selecting Mr. Stevenson. "You must not rush history," he once said to me when we were having one of those midnight discussions after a day of campaigning. "Segregation must go, and history is moving fast towards it. But you cannot rush history." Politically, Stevenson is pursuing the safest tactic by sticking to the fact that the Supreme Court's decision has in fact taken the segregation issue out of the political affray.

On foreign affairs, Stevenson's main concern is the encroachment of Communism and the crushing of free thought. Never will he yield to Communism in any guise. To that extent, despite the fact that he admits that the American economy is at this moment "as spotted as a coach dog," he will maintain that it is necessary for America to maintain both her defence forces and her overseas economic commitments. He will urge too that every help be given the Western Powers to trade with the under-developed areas and that instruments such as the World Bank and the United Nations Agencies be given every possible support.

What of his chances? Against any candidate other than Mr. Eisenhower, Adlai Stevenson would be practically home. If Eisenhower were to sustain any set-back in his health between now and the election, Stevenson would promptly go to the top of the poll: even in defeat last time, he polled 27 million votes—3 million more than Truman polled when he won. The fact that he has Kefauver as his running mate should consolidate the Democratic appeal, for Kefauver will pull in the votes from the negroes and the workers and the farmers where Stevenson is weakest. But there are drawbacks—his divorce, for instance, and his Church. His wife got a divorce in Las Vegas a year after he became Governor of Illinois. Her husband's devotion to his public duties created a life she no longer wished to share. It was a great sadness for Stevenson. For some time, he shut up his

handsome eleven-roomed home at Libertyville outside Chicago and lived alone save for the servants and Bob Blair at the Governor's Mansion. Now he is back home again, amid his books and his hay-making on the 72-acre farm. But he is a lonely man. And a lonely man does not present so attractive a picture to the electors as one with a wife and family of grandchildren around him.

Then there is his Church. Adlai Stevenson is a Unitarian, which may weigh against him with Catholic voters, particularly, and with others.

What of his potentialities as President, should he win in November?

As an administrator at State level he has already proved himself. But he will be a difficult colleague. For he is quick to resent criticism, even merely implied. He demands almost superhuman effort from his associates, and has little patience with those who backslide. He has a vivid imagination and a quick application of it to practical operations, but he has no sympathy with those insufficiently nimble

to keep pace with him. He is given, furthermore, to taking major decisions on his own initiative without consultation with his colleagues. This has got him into trouble before with his Party, and would undoubtedly do so again should he go to the White House.

In foreign affairs, his broad clear mind would be welcomed in international circles. His fearlessness and his outspokenness might well be regarded as undiplomatic—and on the specific issue of China, I can foresee problems with this country, for Mr. Stevenson has expressed himself as utterly opposed to any proposal that the Chinese People's Republic should ever be admitted to a seat on the Security Council.

With all his shortcomings, however, should Adlai Stevenson succeed in November, the American nation and most peoples throughout the world would welcome this man of wide mind and courageous thought.

HONOR BALFOUR.

## ARMS AND THE MEN

By JULES MENKEN

*There has hardly been a realistic defence debate in the House in the last ten years. . . . the facts will be tested and paid for by men's lives. . . .*

*. . . in a war, or at the threat of war, it is reality that counts, and debates in this House of Commons are no substitute for fire-power.*

GEORGE WIGG, M.P. (Labour) for Dudley, speaking in the House of Commons, July 31, 1956.

### I. MANPOWER

**W**HETHER we can do without National Service depends on the size of the armed forces we need and on the methods of recruitment required to provide the necessary number of men.

The present size and structure of the armed forces in manpower make a con-

venient starting-place. On March 31, 1956, the actual strength of the active forces of all three armed services was 772,800. By June 30 this total had fallen to 761,000 as part of the reduction to 735,000 by March 31, 1957, which it is the Government's stated policy to achieve.

Detailed figures are not available for later than March, when the numbers were as follows:—

#### U.K. ACTIVE FORCES

March 31, 1956

Royal Navy and Royal Marines	122,100
Army . . . . .	408,000
Royal Air Force . . . . .	242,600
<b>TOTAL . . . . .</b>	<b>*772,800</b>

\* In this and later tables the difference between the sum of the items and the total is due to rounding off.

## ARMS AND THE MEN

The Royal Navy and the Royal Marines have the largest proportion of long-service Regulars, and in their case the loss of the present National Service contingent should cause no significant difficulty. The figures make this quite clear:—

### ROYAL NAVY AND ROYAL MARINES

#### *Active Strength at March 31, 1956*

Regulars (Males) . . .	106,600
National Service . . .	11,600
Women (including nurses) . .	4,000
<b>TOTAL . . .</b>	<b>122,100</b>

In the Army the position is very different. National Service men so described form nearly half the manpower of the Army; indeed, excluding officers, National Service Other Ranks actually numbered nearly 30,000 more last March than did Other Ranks who were nominally Regulars. Of those nominally described as "Regulars," however, more than half are not really so, but are in fact National Service men who have chosen a three-year engagement as "Regulars"—they are, of course, formally quite entitled to the description—because of the advantages which this course entails. The choice, briefly, is between two years of National Service with the colours, with 4s. 6d. a day as pay for the first eighteen months and 7s. 6d. a day for the last six months, and a three-year engagement with the colours at a minimum of 9s. a day. For nearly a quarter of all Other Ranks in the Army—their number at the end of March was 89,441—the second choice was preferred. Including officers, the over-all position was as follows:—

### BRITISH ARMY

#### *Active Strength at March 31, 1956*

#### Regulars—

Officers, long-service Other Ranks, and boys . . .	109,400
Other Ranks on three-year engagements . . .	89,400
National Service, all ranks . .	202,600
Women (including nurses) . .	6,500
<b>TOTAL . . .</b>	<b>408,000</b>

The manpower position of the Royal Air Force is similar to that of the Army, though less extreme. National Service men, so described, account for nearly one male out of every three. The short-service situation in the R.A.F. is a little more complicated than in the Army, but of male Other Ranks nominally described as "Regulars"—and again formally entitled to the description—nearly two out of five are really National Service men who have made the alternative choice of three-year or four-year engagements. Including officers, the over-all position was as follows:—

### ROYAL AIR FORCE

#### *Active Strength at March 31, 1956*

#### Regulars—

Officers, long-service Other Ranks, and boys . . .	110,200
Other Ranks on engagements under five years . . .	51,400
National Service, all ranks . .	74,800
Women (including nurses) . .	6,200
<b>TOTAL . . .</b>	<b>242,600</b>

On present experience as embodied in the structure of the active forces, if National Service were abolished—and if the figures for March 31, 1956, given above are rounded off—we would apparently be left with male Regulars, officers and other ranks together, numbering about 105,000 for the Royal Navy and Royal Marines, about 110,000 for the Army, and about 110,000 for the Royal Air Force, or an apparent total of about 325,000 for all three Services together. Even this figure, however, is too high, for it includes the existing number of Regular officers, whereas smaller forces with the same *proportion* of officers would mean a cut in their numbers of about 35,000. Against this may perhaps be set some recruitment for longer periods from other ranks who now sign on for three years or four years; to allow 10,000 for this category would seem generous. Deducting surplus officers (say, 35,000) and adding possible additional



recruits (say, 10,000), the Regular forces, without National Service, might number as many as 300,000 males, officers and other ranks together. To this total, if existing proportions were maintained, would be added about 6,500 for the women's and nursing services. These figures mean in effect that the Navy, the Army, and the Air Force would each have a maximum of about 100,000 males if National Service were abolished.

That in terms even of official thinking these figures are by no means extreme appears from a statement made by Mr. Iain Macleod, the Minister of Labour and National Service, during the Commons debate in July on defence and manpower. Mr. Macleod was referring to the obvious fact that, over any period of appropriate length, the size of armed forces raised solely by voluntary recruitment is the product of the average annual intake of recruits multiplied by the average number of years that each recruit serves. Mr. Macleod dealt with these two factors separately. "The best estimate we can make at present," he said, "[for Regular recruitment] for Other Ranks for all Services" may be "a figure of about 32,000 men a year" (*Hansard*, July 31, 1956, col. 1206). Assuming an average of *ten* years' service—on which Mr. Macleod commented, "and I believe this to be generous"—a total Regular force of about 320,000 male Other Ranks would emerge. If, however, the average recruit's service ran to *nine* years or a little less, if recruiting fell below 32,000, and if allowance is made for officers, then male Regular forces totalling about the 300,000 given above are arrived at even on this highly official basis.

Do forces of this order of magnitude begin to promise us anything like adequate defensive strength? On the assumption—which will be further examined below—that war has not been banished from the world, the answer is clearly, No! The facts speak for themselves. The strength of the Royal Navy and Royal Marines in June 1939 was 129,000, which broadly sufficed to man 289 major combat vessels of various types; the personnel of the

German Navy in April 1939 was 160,000, while at the outbreak of war Hitler had a total of 57 submarines, of which 49 were operational, and a modest surface fleet of various combat types. In April, 1956, the strength of the Royal Navy and Royal Marines was 122,000, while the number of major combat ships in the Operational Fleet or preparing for service with it of types broadly similar to those of 1939 was 114; approximately in June 1956 official Western estimates put the personnel of the Soviet Navy at 600,000—a figure which may well exclude a good many of the personnel at shore establishments; while the number of Soviet submarines exceeded 450 and the Soviet surface fleet, though differently constituted, was much stronger than Hitler's.

For air forces technical and other changes since 1939 make a comparison with pre-war largely irrelevant. The Royal Air Force, however, with personnel numbering 242,600 in April and aircraft not exceeding about 5,000 of all types, is certainly not too strong; excluding the National Service contingent, its personnel are fewer than the combined personnel of the East European satellite and Chinese air forces, which together have a strength of 175,000 and some 4,000 aircraft. The comparable totals for the Soviet air forces are 800,000 personnel and 19,000 to 20,000 aircraft, the majority of them jets (of which about 80,000 personnel and some 3,000 machines are in the Soviet Naval Air Force).

How inadequate British ground forces of about 100,000 would be in terms of our commitments may be seen from the approximate present distribution of the active strength of the Army. Towards the end of July—i.e. before the Suez crisis had caused troop movements—the four divisions of B.A.O.R. and the British brigade in Berlin accounted for about 80,000 men. There were about 5,000 men in Gibraltar and Malta together, several thousand troops in Cyrenaica and Tripoli, and more than 18,000 in Cyprus. There were about 11,000 troops in Hong Kong, and about 25,000 British and Colonial troops in Malaya. Jordan, Kenya, and Korea had

## ARMS AND THE MEN

about a battalion each, while Aden and the Caribbean each had slightly more than a battalion.

These figures mean that, out of an Army of almost exactly 400,000 males, something of the order of 140,000 are overseas, and only some 260,000 are at home. Of those at home a large number are in very early stages of training. Of the total of 400,000, some two-fifths are not fighting troops, but are in service formations such as the R.A.S.C., the R.A.O.C., R.E.M.E., etc. In such circumstances it is easy to see why a strategic reserve, which is badly needed, is practically non-existent.

By way of comparison, some other strengths may be considered. Even after the cuts announced last year and this, it is impossible to believe that the Soviet Army's total of more than 200 divisions account for fewer than 2,500,000 men. The strength of the Chinese People's Liberation Army, which has been extensively modernized and re-equipped in the last two or three years, is about 2,500,000. After reductions announced last year, what are mainly ground forces in other Communist countries amount to about 350,000 in Poland, about 290,000 in Rumania, about 220,000 in Czechoslovakia, and about 200,000 in Hungary. Even North Korea, which has been heavily re-armed, has an army numbering about 400,000, including 25 line divisions, or more than double the total of British regular divisions. Turkey has forces totalling about 315,000, and has earmarked 12 divisions for NATO. The Pakistan armed forces are estimated at about 200,000, and the Indian armed forces at about 400,000. The Egyptian armed forces are estimated at about 100,000, apart from some 30,000 in the National Guard.

Facts such as these show how fantastically remote from contemporary realities and how irresponsible has been recent talk about further cuts in the British armed forces. Forces totalling about 300,000—the maximum that voluntary recruitment alone could possibly sustain—are much less than half of our real needs. An Army of about 200,000 (such as Mr. George Brown talked about in the July defence

and manpower debate)—and therefore a total strength for all three Services of about 500,000 (which Mr. Macleod's figure of 450,000 for male Other Ranks implies)—would also be dangerously inadequate. The blunt truth must be faced that quite apart from the new threat of nuclear weapons and guided missiles, the mid-twentieth-century world has been militarized in a time of nominal peace as never before in modern history. In such a world, until widespread and general disarmament takes place on sound lines, National Service must be continued in order to maintain our armed forces at a level which alone can ensure our existence.

## II. WEAPONS

What weapons does Britain require? Have not atomic and hydrogen bombs "abolished war" (to use the phrase of an eminent contemporary)? If not, for what kinds of war must our armed forces be organized—and can we afford to prepare? Must we really carry the burden of all types of weapons? Cannot appropriate specialization within NATO lessen our own burden by handing over to our Allies, the United States in particular, certain types of defence—notably those involving costly nuclear weapons and guided missiles? Cannot tactical atomic weapons and other modern aids (such as transport aircraft for rapid troop movement to threatened areas) make possible important economies in our armed forces? Do we really need a navy for any foreseeable or probable future war? If major hydrogen war comes, will we not all be dead in a few hours any way? And if major nuclear war can be avoided, is not conventional war unlikely, and if it took place would it not be quite ineffective against the social and political forces underlying Communism and Eastern nationalism?

Has not the thermonuclear deterrent for all practical purposes abolished war by making it suicidal? Contrary to the widely held view that this is so, the correct answer in my opinion is certainly in the negative. The reasons why this is so—the reasons, that is, why war must still be



expected and prepared against—deserve close examination.

The thermonuclear deterrent is not a simple instrument of war. Essentially it comprises hydrogen weapons and the means of delivering them. Both must be available in quantity in order to knock out critical targets in an extremely short time. It is now the official doctrine of the United States Air Force (and no doubt of the Royal Air Force as well) that, if the deterrent must be used, the priority task is destruction of Soviet Air power. Conversely, for the Soviets the priority task would be a parallel destruction of American and British air power. For both sides the critical targets for about the next five years (and perhaps for longer) will be the manned long-range and medium-range jet aircraft which carry hydrogen bombs, and the airfields from which such aircraft fly. As far as we know—and there is a good deal of knowledge on this point—guided weapons with the necessary range, accuracy, and reliability do not yet exist even in prototype, and therefore can come into general service only in the relatively distant future.

In order that the thermonuclear deterrent should be effective, each side must know that the other side can in fact knock out its own air power. For Britain and the United States this means knocking out Soviet air bases running into hundreds, among which the more important have reinforced underground structures. For the Soviet Union, on the other hand, it means something much simpler, namely, knocking out only some 30 or 40 strategic bomber bases in the United States and a handful of others in Britain and elsewhere.

These relative figures are central to the world strategic situation to-day, and are also a principal key to Soviet policy in its current phase. Because Soviet air bases are numerous, Strategic Air Command in the United States and Bomber Command in Britain must be large and costly if the nominal Anglo-American deterrent is to be real in terms of striking power. Conversely, British and American strategic bomber bases are in fact still so few that their destruction presents a problem which,

in circumstances by no means inconceivable, could be solved by successful surprise, and therefore by having enough planes of the right types (and of course enough bombs) to make successful surprise possible. Among other things, this means that the Soviets can still think in terms of victory in a real sense, and not merely in terms of certain mutual suicide.

Soviet policy under Khrushchev aims at producing long-range jet bombers in the necessary numbers. Already the Soviet output of these aircraft is substantially larger than the output of the corresponding American bombers. Moreover, long-range jet bombers are only one item in the gigantic Soviet arms programme which certainly includes hydrogen bombs, which still continues despite all of Moscow's double-talk about peace, which largely explains the renewed emphasis on heavy industry in the current Five-Year Plan and which puts an unsurpassed threat of force behind Soviet external policy as a whole.

But time is needed for these aircraft and bombs to come into being. For the next couple of years we may enjoy a relative lull from a major threat direct from Moscow. But a period of grave danger will begin somewhere about 1958. In that year, General Curtis LeMay, the Commander-in-Chief, Strategic Air Command, told the Symington Sub-Committee on Air Power this spring, the Soviet Air Force, if present production rates continue (and there is no evidence that they have been reduced) will be stronger in long-range air power than Strategic Air Command. It will also certainly be stronger in medium-range air power than Bomber Command of the Royal Air Force. By 1960, if present plans, programmes, and estimates of Soviet air power hold, General LeMay considers that "there is grave doubt that the Strategic Air Command would present an effective deterrence."

In this perspective the new line of Soviet policy takes on a different meaning. Khrushchev has said bluntly that Moscow has not abandoned its goal of Communist world domination. He has also said that

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Soviet foreign policy is based not on the work of diplomats, but *mainly on the increase of Soviet military strength*. When the Soviet Air Force has long-range jet bombers in the necessary numbers some time between 1958 and 1960, thermonuclear surprise may therefore be attempted. If success does not seem almost certain, the attempt need not be made. Meanwhile Moscow has plenty to do—and is doing it—in order to mislead world opinion, to press forward with infiltration and subversion in many countries, especially in Asia and Africa, and generally to enlarge the area and increase the pressure of the threat and fear of war which are major instruments in its policy.

In this situation the thermonuclear deterrent by itself is not enough to safeguard the free world. The deterrent must certainly be maintained, and indeed strengthened. But there is also a great Soviet threat with conventional weapons which the impending conversion of the Soviet Army to tactical atomic warfare—a conversion that largely explains the recent Soviet manpower cuts—will further increase. If the rest of the world cannot withstand this threat, it will have to give in to Soviet demands. Alternatively, if the Soviet threat is to be withstood—as it should and must be—strong conventional forces must remain in being.

Strong conventional forces are also needed to cope with the different type of threat which has emerged during the Suez crisis.

But cannot Britain at least ease her burden by leaving certain tasks to her allies—for example, by letting the United States provide the strategic bomber force and the weapons of the deterrent? There are three answers. First, co-operation in research and development already exists over part of the field, and is perhaps specially important with guided missiles; whatever more is practicable should of course be done. Second, if Britain does not herself contribute a substantial proportion of the total deterrent, she may be certain that her influence on American strategic concepts and on the strategy and conduct of any future struggle will dwindle

and may vanish. What the lack of necessary resources has meant and could mean again for Britain is underlined by Mr. John Ehrman's account (in *Grand Strategy*, Vol. V, a volume in the British official history of the Second World War) of the consequences for British strategy of a shortage of landing-craft (which were mainly American-supplied). The increasing industrial importance and military potentialities of Germany and Japan emphasize this point. And, third, in the final analysis if one country depends on another for crucial weapons, it may be destroyed if its partner does not or cannot supply its need when the hour of crisis strikes. If, therefore, we were to depend on the American Strategic Air Command to knock out targets from which destruction could come to us, we might be annihilated before help did or could arrive. For the rule is inexorable that, where life and death are concerned, each individual and each country must in the end be responsible itself for downfall or survival.

It is not possible in this article to deal with other questions, each of which would need fairly lengthy discussion. But two points may be made in conclusion. First, there is no question whatever that we possess the resources to supply our needs for defence, provided only that we have the will—not least the political will—to set them aside and use them. And, secondly, there is no need or justification for taking tragically either our undoubted grave peril in the present state of the world or the effort that will certainly be needed to cope with and ward it off. In our climate no sensible person complains about the cost or burden of keeping a sound roof over his head. In the international climate as it still is to-day complaints about the burden of defence are equally unjustified. The prime lesson of the tragic years which ended in Munich and world war was that without armed strength no country can have a foreign policy. The lesson of this era of atomic and hydrogen bombs is that without strength in arms and in spirit no country can exist at all.

JULES MENKEN.

# BIRD PROTECTION IN EUROPE

By R. S. R. FITTER

**B**IRDS are adaptable creatures; you have only to watch the nightly assemblies of the starlings in Trafalgar Square to realize that. But some birds, to borrow the famous Orwellian phrase, are less adaptable than others. Bird protectionists are concerned with both groups, the adaptable because they are liable to increase to the detriment of the rest, and the unadaptable because they cannot stand up to the strains of modern civilization. But birds don't have duodenal ulcers; they just die out.

In June, a conference was held at Beetsterzwaag in the Netherlands province of Friesland to discuss some of the problems of protecting birds in Western Europe. It was the sixth conference of the European Continental Section of the International Committee for Bird Preservation. This Committee, now perhaps more commonly known by the initials of its French title, *Comité Internationale pour la Protection des Oiseaux* (CIPPO), is one of the more successful of modern international organizations. Indeed, for the friendly spirit displayed among all the representatives of twelve Western European countries, it must be unrivalled. The largest delegations came from the United Kingdom (including one from Scotland and two from Northern Ireland) and the Netherlands. France, Western Germany, Belgium, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, Austria and Luxembourg were also represented among the fifty-three delegates.

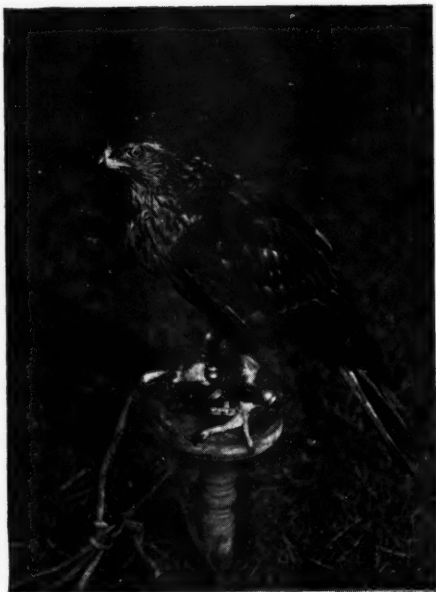
One of the main problems caused by birds becoming too numerous is that of the gulls. All over Europe, including Britain, and in North America gulls are increasing because they are the present-day scavengers. In the Middle Ages, before the municipal dust-cart was invented, the town scavengers were kites and ravens. When hygienic progress began, and it

became distinctly non-U to have a midden by your back door, the kites and ravens lost their living. Nowadays, progress has got so far that the middens have been reconstituted in the shape of huge municipal rubbish-dumps on the outskirts of cities, and there the gulls go to feed. Every winter's day you can see swarms of them, mostly herring gulls, squabbling over the scraps and garbage. And because they have tapped a new winter food supply the number of pairs of breeding gulls has greatly increased. The colonization of Inner London by common and black-headed gulls during the past sixty years, and the gradual transformation of the lesser black-backed gull from a summer visitor to a resident in certain areas, are also a part of the story.

But the serious aspect for the bird protectionist is that gulls have become too numerous, especially on the coast of Holland, and have begun to harm the breeding populations of other, more interesting birds, such as shelduck, terns, avocets and Kentish plovers. Up to 1930 there were about 10,000 breeding pairs of herring gulls along the 400-mile coastline of Holland. They were not considered to do any harm and indeed were protected. By 1938, however, numbers had increased to 26,000 pairs and some had to be killed in order to keep the population within bounds. The war naturally disorganized these protective measures, for the coastal area was inaccessible, so they have had to be renewed since 1945. By 1958 it is hoped that the herring gull population in Holland will be down to 10,000 pairs again, and the distasteful business of poisoning them can stop. Control will then be continued by ensuring that only a limited number of gull chicks are fledged each year.

Gulls are nothing like such a problem in Britain, where though it is often alleged

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GOSHAWK.

*Photo: Eric Hosking.*

that herring gulls are harmful to other birds with which they breed, there is no real proof of it. Indeed, there is a curious piece of evidence to the contrary, at Dungeness in Kent, a sanctuary of the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds. Here the gulls were alleged to be harming the ternery, so before the war their eggs were systematically taken. As a result, the gullery is now decreasing, and incidentally we seem likely to lose one of our few British gulleries on shingle (most British herring gulls nest on cliffs). Yet despite the decline in the gull population, there is no corresponding increase in the terns. And indeed, there is good reason to suppose that four-footed predators, chiefly hedgehogs and foxes, have been the main enemies of the terns all along. It all goes to show how dangerous it is to generalize about birds and their behaviour.

An even more striking example of the dangers of applying wholesale generalizations in bird behaviour is provided by the birds of prey, which were also discussed at the CIPO Conference. Here the trouble is the erroneous idea, which however still dies hard both in Britain and on

the Continent, that any bird with a hooked beak is constantly on the lookout for a meal of game-chicks. In fact, of course, most of them feed on either rats and mice or on small birds like sparrows and finches. Undoubtedly there are rogue individuals that take to a diet of game-chick, but they are very few compared with the numerous individuals that only take an odd one here and there if they happen to come across it in the course of general hunting. There is increasing evidence that predators of all kinds perform a useful function towards their prey in taking only sick and inefficient individuals. No stock of animals is harmed by having the least efficient 1 or 2 per cent. weeded out—Nature will weed out far more than that anyway—so that there is really nothing for the game preserver to fear, except for the occasional rogue. Under the new British law, the Protection of Birds Act, 1954, all birds of prey are protected except for the sparrowhawk, and the rarer ones have a penalty of £25 per bird or egg attached to them. Farmers and game preservers are covered by the provision that it is a good defence to a



*Photo: The Author.*

STORK NESTING PLATFORM IN FRIESLAND.

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prosecution to say that a bird was taken *flagrante delicto*. They may not, of course, shoot a bird "in case it might do some harm."

The only other European country with as enlightened a policy towards protecting birds of prey as Britain is Holland, where even the sparrowhawk is protected so as to deprive people of the excuse of saying they have shot a kestrel by mistake. Western Germany has a very useful provision attached to the issue of its gun licences; before you can get one you must pass a simple test to show that you know the difference between the protected and the unprotected birds of prey.

The destruction of birds of prey in the supposed interests of farmers and game preservers has much wider repercussions than is generally imagined, and this applies also to the all too frequent slaughter of stoats and weasels for the same reason. Birds of prey, stoats and weasels are among the chief enemies of rats in the countryside, and it is certainly partly because their predators have been kept down that rats have been able to increase and overrun our farmlands, and rats, of course, are even worse egg thieves than jays and magpies. Similarly, the plethora of members of the crow family in the countryside is largely a reflection of the absence of the larger birds of prey. If we had the goshawk back again—and it is sad to have to relate that the birds which tried to establish themselves in Sussex appear to have been shot—they would help enormously to keep down the number of jays and magpies. Again, if the pine marten were allowed to come back we should at last have an effective natural enemy of the red and grey squirrels—it is often forgotten that the red squirrel is as much hated by the Scottish foresters as the grey squirrel is by the English.

The Beetsterzwaag Conference also discussed several questions of general application to bird protection, such as spring shooting, which still prevails in certain parts of the Continent, oil pollution of the sea, and the effect of chemical insecticides and weed-killers.



Photo: Eric Hosking.

GUILLEMOT SHOWING THE EFFECTS OF OIL.

On oil pollution, there is good reason to hope that some progress will now be made. The United Kingdom was the first country to ratify the International Convention that was signed in London two years ago, and our legislation on this point is now satisfactory. CIPO and its able Secretary, Miss Phyllis Barclay-Smith, have been the driving force behind the international movement to abolish the pollution of the seas by oil, but they will not be able to rest until every maritime country in the world has both signed the Convention and introduced effective legislation to enforce it. A welcome development is the installation already in many European ports of facilities for the reception of oil residues.

The increasing use of modern chemical insecticides and weed-killers has for several years been alarming all who are interested in the preservation of game and wild life, for there is no doubt that serious harm can result if they are carelessly used. The "epidemic" of poisoned wood-pigeons reported last spring from Hamp-



## BIRD PROTECTION IN EUROPE

shire and elsewhere shows what some of the dangers are, and although nobody minds a reduction in our wood-pigeon population, it is quite otherwise with partridges or skylarks or lapwings. I myself strongly suspect that the local decreases reported all over the country in the numbers of partridges and lapwings have more than a little to do with the reduction in the number of insects and weeds as a result of the use of these pesticides. I am sure this is ultimately more serious than the occasional direct poisoning of birds that have been feeding or sheltering in sprayed brassicas.

I suspect too that something of this sort is at the bottom of the mysterious decline in the numbers of storks, which has been going on all over Western Europe for the past fifteen years or so. The number of breeding pairs of the white stork in Holland alone has gone down from 312 to 58 since 1939. It is significant that the decrease in numbers has only been in the

most thickly populated and intensively cultivated parts of Western Europe, Denmark, Sweden, Western Germany, Holland and Alsace. In Eastern Europe, including Austria, and in parts of Africa, where I imagine the new chemical pesticides are either unknown or only very recent innovations, the stork population is said to be still increasing. It is all a very severe lesson against upsetting the balance of nature. Although the use of these pesticides is undoubtedly necessary in order to increase agricultural production, we must not assume that all the advantages lie on one side. As with so many other aspects of modern progress, we have to pay a price for the elimination of some weeds and pests, in the shape of a steady advance towards a desert world, inhabited only by other weeds and pests and by adaptable birds like herring gulls and starlings.

R. S. R. FITTER.

## CORRESPONDENCE

*To the Editor, The National and English Review*

### TORYISM AFTER 1960

*From Comdr. W. O. Rees Millington.*

SIR,

I do not believe the Tory Egalitarianism recommended by Mr. Charles Curran is the real answer to England's need for a Government fit to govern without fear or favour—without favour to any one section of the populace at the expense of any other, and without fear of pressure from bureaucracy or the State within the State which exists to-day. So much that Mr. Curran says is sound, but I cannot agree that the best men should not be picked for Cabinet Ministers just because they happen to have been educated at a good public school and one of the two older universities. There is so much muddled thinking going on nowadays as to the merits of State Education *vis à vis* the best

that can be obtained in other ways, and so much sentimentality confused with sentiment in the matter of the alleged superiority and alleged virtue of lowly over patrician birth, that we are in danger of forgetting to apply all our recently acquired knowledge of eugenics and genetics. Surely the right aim is to give all the opportunity of the best education they are fitted to absorb and then to select your leaders entirely on merit.

First and foremost during the next ten years our job must be to uphold culture against all attempts, however well-meaning and altruistic, to level it down.

Yours, etc.,

W. O. REES MILLINGTON,  
*Commander R.N. (ret.).*

*Millfield,*

*Ryde. I.W.*

July 22, 1956.

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### THE LORDS AND THE SILVERMAN BILL

*From Mr. W. K. Scudamore.*

SIR,

While I read your comments on the month's episodes always with interest and usually with approval, I must take exception to your notes on the Silverman Bill, which seem to me most unjust. As an intelligent child of sixty I have observed that, like Macaulay's schoolboy, the phrase "an intelligent child of six" invariably precedes an appeal to prejudice instead of reason. It is possible that one type of psychopath may be induced to commit murder for the sake of the grim publicity, though I cannot at the moment recall an actual instance. It is certainly the opinion of a large number of persons—of various ages—that a quite considerable variety of more ordinary people are likely to be, and, indeed, are, deterred by the fear of being hanged.

You are, I think, unnecessarily severe on Lord Salisbury. A referendum may be foreign to our constitution. Equally foreign to the "spirit of true democracy" is the assumption that a drastic change in our laws should be forced upon "the people" by a bigoted minority. I do not think it can be claimed that the voting in the House of Commons in any way reflected the general will of the electors. The Noble Lord may have expressed himself badly, but surely the most valuable function of a Second Chamber is precisely to prevent unwished for changes being forced upon the people, especially in those cases where it is not possible to consult the people directly. Dictator-

ship, even for a good motive, is not liked in England. In my own small sphere of observation, I could not find any suggestion that the House of Lords had brought itself into discredit—quite the reverse.

As for the Timothy Evans case—there are two opinions on that curious affair.

Yours sincerely,

W. K. SCUDAMORE.

3 Maurice Road,  
Seaford,  
Sussex.

3rd August, 1956.

*From Mr. H. Richard Bickerton.*

DEAR SIR,

I took the strongest possible objection to the text on page 10 of the July number of your Review under the heading "The Lords and the Silverman Bill." I and my household, and all my friends, are delighted that the Lords acted as they did in holding this Bill up, and feel certain that public opinion is on their side. The House of Commons is making itself look very foolish these days, for after all Conservatives expect them to maintain law and order and not pander to the Trade Unions.

Thank goodness for the Peoples' League!

Yours faithfully,

H. RICHARD BICKERTON.

Pentre Coch Manor,  
Ruthin,  
Denbighshire.

July 23, 1956.

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*N.B.*—The Index of Vol. CXLVI of *The National and English Review* (January–June, 1956) is now ready and can be obtained on application to 2 Breems Buildings, London, E.C.4.



# BOOKS NEW AND OLD

## G. B. S. AND OTHERS\*

By ERIC GILLET

THE centenary of Bernard Shaw's birth has been celebrated by the issue of two biographies. Mr. St. John Ervine describes his 600-page book as a study of Shaw's "Life, Work and Friends." Mr. Stephen Winsten, Shaw's friend and neighbour at Ayot St. Lawrence for many years, has written *Jesting Apostle*, in which he claims to have concentrated on the "private" Shaw.

Mr. St. John Ervine's book is by far the more important of the two. Shaw knew that Mr. Ervine had begun it. He had, indeed, read what Mr. Ervine had written and hoped that he would complete the biography. "You will understand the Irish side of me better than anybody who is not Irish." Shaw might have added that Mr. St. John Ervine would also have been a better interpreter of his dramatic work than anyone else. Mr. St. John Ervine has never received the regard and praise he ought to have had for his dramatic work. Somehow he has been taken for granted, and this is absurd when one considers the variety and importance of the plays and books he has written over the last forty years. Shaw himself did not under-rate them, and his reward, posthumous though it is, is a noble one. Nothing better than the section about the plays has been written. Here and there Mr. St. John Ervine lays down general principles of appreciation which cannot be ignored, as when he writes:

Unless we bear continually in mind the fact that G. B. S. had an apocalyptic mind, and that art interested him much less than social reform, and that he thought Sidney Webb was not less important than works of Beethoven and Michelangelo, we shall profoundly misunderstand his character and purpose in life. He had, no doubt, the human desire to be liked, but not at the cost of his conscience; and he sought within the limits of his powers to speak what he believed to be the truth.

I doubt if there has been another writer in the world's history who strove so long and so tenaciously to do so, or who wrote so much lucid prose in his efforts to clarify the enormous variety of ideas on every conceivable subject which entered his brain. It is not possible to understand Shaw unless one has had practical experience of his gentleness and charity.

There was an occasion when Canon Pat McCormick asked Shaw if he would write for the *St. Martin's Review* an article on "What Christ Means to Me." After a day or two Shaw replied. It was an entirely charming letter. He told McCormick that he did not think that his views on the subject required of him would commend themselves to the readers of a religious magazine. He added that he had the highest possible opinion of the work done for the homeless and down-and-outs in the crypt of the church. He therefore enclosed an article, "Bernard Shaw and the Prayer-book," which he thought might do, and he sent it as a gift to the work of St. Martin's.

G. B. S. must have been over eighty at the time. The article was brilliant, and I should think he could have asked a hundred pounds at least for it if he had sent it to a national newspaper. It may not be

\* *Bernard Shaw. His Life, Work and Friends.* By St. John Ervine. Constable. 50s.

*Jesting Apostle. The Life of Bernard Shaw.* By Stephen Winsten. Hutchinson. 21s.

*A Study of George Orwell.* By Christopher Hollis. Hollis & Carter. 18s.

*Drum. A Venture into the New Africa.* By Anthony Sampson. Collins. 16s.

*Beggars on Golden Stools.* By Peter Schmid. Translated by Mervyn Savill. Weidenfeld & Nicolson. 25s.

*Tales of the Criminal.* By William Routhead. Cassell. 18s.

*The Search for Bridey Murphy.* By Morey Bernstein. Hutchinson. 15s.

*Fire in Heaven.* By Dannie Abse. Hutchinson. 8s. 6d.

irrelevant to add here that McCormick was so delighted with the success of his original idea that he wrote to another famous man of letters, who figures largely in Mr. St. John Ervine's book, only to receive the answer that "Mr. — would be glad to write the article and his fee for the first serial rights would be £100." After that McCormick returned to more conventional contributors.

Both biographers give moving accounts of Shaw's childhood and adolescence. At Dalkey he expressed pleasure in an environment, a thing he seems hardly ever to have done for the rest of his life. Mr. Ervine brings this out remarkably well, explaining that if Shaw and his wife had not been confronted with the choice of buying or leaving their uncomely house at Ayot St. Lawrence, they would certainly have gone, but that after his childhood and youth, when he hardly ever had a regular life and meals and was subject to the caprices of his mother and elder sister, he preferred to remain in a place that he knew and from which he was only removed by his wife's inordinate love of travel. If it had not been for Charlotte, Shaw would have remained happily at Whitehall Court or in their country house. He was interested primarily in ideas, and secondly in people. Places were never of the first importance to him. Comfort was.

There is in Mr. Ervine's book an entirely sympathetic account of the Shaws' married life. Charlotte Shaw was the kindest and most retiring of partners but she could assert herself, and when she did her husband gave in almost without argument. The end of her life was pathetic, as she suffered from *osteitis deformans* and was tormented by it. Her only pleasure was to hear G. B. S. playing music for her, and he would arrange his organ at the foot of the stairs so that she could hear it as she lay in her room, and sometimes he would sing to her. Throughout their married life Shaw would carefully peel an orange for her after luncheon and hand it to her piece by piece. Sir Barry Jackson, an intimate friend, went to see them in Whitehall Court not long before she died, and found them sitting side by side on a sofa while

Shaw turned over the pages of a book of pictures for her.

His behaviour when she died was characteristic. "He moved from one form of emotion to another with such rapidity," Mr. Ervine writes, "that those of his friends who did not fully perceive how he strove to keep his deeper feelings dark, imagined that he was hysterical or callous when, after shedding tears, an act of which he was supposed to be incapable, he would begin to sing almost hilariously."

Mr. St. John Ervine has given a notable account of his celebrated friend. I think it reads the better for the writer's very definite prejudices and tart opinions. Years hence, when all the Shaw correspondence, which must have been the largest on record, has been assembled, and all the reminiscences and reviews collated and time has given perspective, there is certain to be what is called a "definitive" biography. Until then Mr. St. John Ervine's book will do very well. No one else could have done it so frankly and with such knowledge. It would not be possible for Mr. Ervine to pull his punches. When he disagrees with Shaw, he makes no bones about it, and his praise is so fair and discriminating that I believe there are few readers who will not put down this book with a higher opinion of Shaw than they had before they read it.

Mr. Winsten's *Jesting Apostle* is also the result of some years of work and research. The scope is much smaller and less ambitious. Mr. Winsten has made his own small corner in Shaw and has recorded many conversations with him during his later days at Ayot St. Lawrence. The emphasis is on Shaw's unhappy early days in Dublin, but he writes in a friendly anecdotal style and his book is easy, gossipy reading for the uncritically minded. Beside the careful, self-critical writing of Mr. Ervine, *Jesting Apostle* seems to be the work of an amateur. The illustrations in this book are very well chosen, more revealing than those in *Bernard Shaw*, which are also good.

It is a curious chance that presents, alongside the two Shavian biographies, *A Study of George Orwell*, written by Mr.

Christopher Hollis, who was at Eton with him. Shaw and Orwell were both satirists, but it is significant that there is no mention of Orwell in either of the books on Shaw, and that Mr. Hollis merely notes an occasion when Orwell was "immersed in the *Way of All Flesh* and the atheistic arguments of *Androcles and the Lion* at the age of fifteen," and later on remarks that Orwell "had a great distaste for Bernard Shaw and the Webbs and all that they stood for, and it is notable that nationalization never played (in *The Road to Wigan Pier*) any part in his conception of Socialism." In 1949, when expressing the hope that the Socialists would get back to power, Orwell put down on the debit side the amount of time that, as he argued, they had wasted on valueless schemes of nationalization.

In fact, Orwell was an individualist who saw that in our time there are so many tyrants and interfering nuisances of every kind to personal freedom that he "almost alone from first to last dealt out his blows impartially and defended without fear and without compromise the cause of liberty and the decencies from whatever quarter they might be assailed."

Mr. Hollis's study is more critical than biographical. The two met at school, in Burma, and at the end of Orwell's life. Orwell expressed a wish that no biography of him should be written, but he also said he did not think anyone can assess a writer's motives without knowing something of his early development. He made considerable use of his own experiences, and that is all that he wished should be known about him. Although his socialistic claims and interests were strong, Orwell was a lone wolf, an individualist who went his own way, having a distinct strain of perversity in him. In all his indictments, and there are many of them in his writings, ranging from the attack on Imperialism in *Burmese Days* to the bestial picture of oligarchical collectivism in 1984, Orwell stands as a solitary. It seems to have been his habit in life, and there is no doubt that he felt very much alone when he was in Burma. This led him into making sweeping statements which cannot be justified. In *The Road to Wigan Pier* he describes

how he spent a night in the train when in Burma with a man in the Educational Service. They got talking and each revealed to the other his conviction of the total rottenness of the system. "In the haggard morning light when the train crawled into Mandalay," Orwell writes, "we parted as guiltily as any adulterous couple." This seems nonsensical to anyone who has lived in a colony where the shortcomings (and the virtues) of the Educational Service were discussed not merely between contemporaries but also between seniors and juniors with the greatest frankness and amiability.

The more of Orwell's work I read, the more am I impressed by it. *Animal Farm* is clear proof of the influence Swift played in his development, though it may be from Chaucer, as Mr. Hollis indicates, that Orwell learned the device of interspersing the conceit of his story with here and there a piece of genuine and exact observation of animal habits. Orwell believed that there is "a sort of inner self which at least intermittently stands aghast at the horror of existence." Swift had felt that, too, or something remarkably like it. Orwell agreed with Mr. James Burnham that movements that called themselves Socialist were in fact moving not towards an egalitarian society but towards a new sort of tyranny.

*A Study of George Orwell* is as fair as it is informative. This is a consistent portrait. When the Master in College rebuked Orwell (Eric Blair as he then was) with the words, "Well, things can't go on like this. Either you or I will have to go," Orwell replied, "I'm afraid it'll have to be you, sir." Years later, when he wrote *Animal Farm*, he made the animals discover that one of their commandments had been altered from "All animals are equal" to "All animals are equal but some animals are more equal than others." The voice is the same, but it has become deeper and stronger as Orwell grew up.

Burma, Paris, London and the Civil War in Spain are all discussed in relation to the books Orwell wrote about them by the light of personal experience. Possibly, as Mr. Hollis argues, Orwell was logically a

product of a Christian faith which he rejected. Certainly he was a humanitarian who had compassion and tenderness for individuals which he combined with a horror of totalitarianism and any form of regimentation.

In an early essay on Koestler, Orwell wrote: "The easy way out is that of the religious believer who regards this life merely as the preparation for the next." If that way cannot be accepted, "the real problem is how to restore the religious attitude while accepting death as final." He did not live long enough to make his decision.

It is not long since Father Huddleston's *Naught for Your Comfort* caused a considerable stir here and in South Africa. Some of the book's critics took the view that Father Huddleston generalized too freely from his experiences in Sophiatown. This is a criticism that cannot be applied to Mr. Anthony Sampson's *Drum*, which he calls "a Venture into the New Africa."

Summoned by cable from Capetown, Mr. Sampson went out to the staff of a new Negro periodical there, which turned out to be edited by the old South African cricketer R. J. Crisp. The proprietor was a son of Sir Abe Bailey, and Mr. Sampson had known him at Oxford. *Drum* was a sixpenny monthly, written in English, printed on cheap yellow newsprint. The cover showed two Africans, one in Western hat and suit, the other with skins and assegai, facing each other across a continent. The first numbers had contained African poems and stories, articles on "Music of the Tribes" and "Know Yourself," giving the history of the Bantus. There were instalments of *Cry, the Beloved Country*. The circulation was 20,000 copies, and Mr. Bailey was losing £2,000 a month.

On Mr. Sampson's arrival the offices were moved to Johannesburg and the editorial board began a series of investigations to discover how they could increase the sale. They soon had a glut of information.

"Why do you dish out that stuff, man?" said a man with golliwog hair in a floppy American suit, at the Bantu Men's Social

Centre. "Tribal music! Tribal history! Chiefs! We don't care about chiefs! Give us jazz and film stars, man! We want Duke Ellington, Satchmo, and hot dames! Yes, brother, anything American. You can cut out this junk about kraals and folk-tales and Basutos in blankets—forget it! You're just trying to keep us backward, that's what! Tell us what's happening right here, man, on the Reef!"

From that moment Mr. Sampson decided to give the Africans exactly what they wanted, and that seemed to be remarkably like some popular large-circulation sheets in this country. When *Drum* exposed the scandal of the farms at Bethal its figures shot up to over 60,000. It was still not enough. The staff discussed cover designs interminably. Black boxers, beauty queens, jazzmen, African heroes in their small location houses, African business men at the wheels of enormous American cars were featured. On one occasion there was a faked photograph of a man walking down the street with his head under his arm. The readers loved it. "What happens to his neck," one asked, "when he's taken his head off?"

After three years Mr. Sampson came home, but *Drum* goes on and prospers. Mr. Sampson believes that in the new Africa of towns and industries the African has much in common with the European worker in every industrial revolution. He says, without qualification, that there is nothing so grim in South Africa to-day that it cannot be matched by nineteenth-century England. South Africa's problem, however much disguised, is fundamentally the problem of different races living together.

*Drum* is a lively documentary, and Mr. Sampson gives the impression that he has tried as far as he could to give an accurate, truthful impression of all that he saw and heard. I found it fascinating.

Mr. Peter Schmid, the author of *Beggars on Golden Stools*, which has just been published in a good translation by Mr. Mervyn Savill, is a man who enjoys vivid contrasts and a certain amount of violence. He got both of them in the Latin American journey which is the subject of his enter-

## G. B. S. and Others

taining book. He calls South America the "continent of the future," not the future of its own people but that of the foreign calculators, who understand organization and work with the regularity of alarm clocks. It is the natives who call themselves pathetic beggars on golden stools because they cannot grasp the foreigner's magic formula or usurp his power.

This is a brilliant book of travel impressions and shrewd judgments. Under the heading "An Athens of Thieves," Mr. Schmid sets down the peculiar conditions of life in Bogotá, where you may shoot a thief in your own house and go unpunished. If you don't, he will. A friend of Mr. Schmid's, whose entire silver was stolen one day, managed to get the culprit arrested. In the meantime the silver had disappeared, having been bought by the silversmiths. "Do you expect us to punish the man?" asked the police captain. "Naturally." "Then will you be good enough to pay five pesos for his keep per day during his imprisonment?" "What do you mean?" asked the complainant. "Five pesos a day," was the reply, "or else the rogue will go free." As the lady refused to pay, this is exactly what happened.

There is, however, another alternative. Mr. Schmid read in a newspaper a courteous notice from an advertiser who had had a camera and typewriter stolen. "I am ready," it ran, "to buy back both objects at a considerably better price (than he would get in the thieves' market), and you can rely upon my complete discretion."

*Beggars on Golden Stools* is a splendid miscellany, and Mr. Schmid seems equally happy when writing about the ephemeral presidents, the United Fruit Company, or the sacrificial rituals of the ancient Aztecs. There is a rich variety in the subjects which interested Mr. Schmid.

The late William Roughead was the most accomplished of all writers on criminology, and *Tales of the Criminous* is the second selection of murder cases from his numerous books which has been made by his son. It is composed mostly of crimes which did not attain a wide celebrity. As Mr. W. N. Roughead points out, his father

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always brought to his writing a distinctive touch and a sardonic sense of humour very necessary to lawyers, and it appears from a series of letters printed at the end of this volume that Henry James was among William Roughead's fans. He admired Roughead's detachment, his sense of drama, and the flashes of wit with which he would redeem a sordid tale. All the cases in this book were worth reprinting, and there is a prefatory essay, "Enjoyment of Murder," which must be commended to the anthologists. In his own bizarre field Roughead was an artist. As James Bridie once said, "He can make our flesh creep, but his own flesh is sound."

From Pueblo, Colorado, comes *The Search for Bridey Murphy*. I have no idea what William Roughead would have thought of it. Probably not much, because he dealt with facts, and Mr. Morey Bernstein's strange book is concerned with his interest in hypnotism, which grew when he found that he had hypnotic powers. With typical American thoroughness he underwent electric-shock treatment to test his own powers as a subject and experimented on himself with truth-serum drugs.

He found a very responsive subject in Ruth Simmons, the wife of an insurance agent in the Middle West, and he describes here how he took her back, in trances, to her early childhood, and eventually he claims that he took her back to another personality altogether, a woman who lived and died in the nineteenth century, Bridey Murphy. His investigations are still in progress.

Usually I read books on the occult and on hypnosis without any pleasure, but Mr. Bernstein is a modest recorder of his work and he seems to be as surprised by the results he has obtained as the reader will be. *The Search for Bridey Murphy* is a very readable curiosity in the autumn publishing lists.

When Mr. Dannie Abse's poetry play, *Fire in Heaven*, was given a performance four years ago a critic remarked that "to broadcast it would be rather like proposing to introduce a time-bomb into a respectable game of bowls." The plot is simple. In

an unnamed city the people are doing what they can to harass the occupying army. A well-planned operation causes death and destruction to the garrison. By way of revenge an officer orders that five members of one family shall be killed. The sixth shall be their executioner. Mr. Abse's first two acts are successful. The grim, dull atmosphere of the place and the haunted lives of the persecuted are effectively conveyed. The last act is not so convincing to read, but it may come off on the stage. Mr. Abse is a young writer full of promise. *Fire in Heaven* deserves more than the "rehearsed reading" it has had.

ERIC GILLET.

DOCTRINAIRE IN TRAVAIL  
CONTEMPORARY CAPITALISM. By John Strachey. Gollancz. 25s.

IF the English mind cherishes one prejudice more than another, it is a dislike of the atmosphere of seminaries and conventicles. This no doubt partly explains the irritation inspired by Mr. Strachey's book; he is not merely a man of faith, he is a man who lives by propositions. Thus the whole purpose of the book is essentially and to the great majority of his potential public offensively sectarian. How far Marx proved right and how far wrong is not a matter which to the ordinary unacademic Socialist will appear to justify the length at which Mr. Strachey writes, yet it is Mr. Strachey's main preoccupation and one which he entertains with an obvious sincerity.

The crucial problem is the familiar one: Marx predicted that the last stage of capitalism would produce a progressive degradation of the people's standard of life, but it has not done so. How can this obstinate fact be overcome without doing violence to the doctrine of infallibility? One method, that of the theory of "relative immiseration," which tries to show that modern capitalism while not actually lowering the general standard of life gives the wage earner a smaller proportion of the total national income than he had when the total national income was smaller, has to be reluctantly abandoned. Instead, Mr. Strachey puts forward the

## *Doctrinaire in Travail*

now familiar Socialist contention that capitalism has been saved from its fore-ordained doom by being reluctantly exposed to the pressures of democracy and trade unionism, which have at once checked the natural tendency of the entrepreneur to self-aggrandisement and, through the operation of Keynesian economics, have given the system, for the moment anyway, a degree of stability for want of which it would have collapsed. He implicitly attributes most of all this as far as Britain is concerned to the activities of the Labour Party.

This leaves him and his political colleagues with what is again a familiar question: has Labour done so much to improve capitalism as to remove the need for abolishing capitalism and thereby to put the Labour Party in danger of becoming redundant? The present volume merely touches on this, which is after all the main practical interest of the work, but it gives some vague indications of the line to be pursued later. Mr. Strachey faces with as much frankness as other Socialist intellectuals the truth that redistribution is no longer a promising way of raising the general standard; he asserts that "It was not the inequity, it was the instability, of capitalism which went far to wreck the world in the first half of the twentieth century," and he clearly hopes more from instability than from inequity in the future. Accordingly, he offers a vague prognostication, which will be developed later but which the present volume does little to support, that the Keynesian techniques, unsupported by administrative controls, will eventually prove inadequate.

This is plainly not enough: Mr. Strachey is therefore obliged to fall back on another but even more unsubstantial argument, the argument that capitalism, for all its apparent enlightenment, has never reconciled itself to the encroachments of democracy although these have been the unwitting saviours of capitalism. It is on this note of menace that the book ends: the forces of reaction are seen somewhat indistinctly mustering for the counter-attack; the forces of progress are counselled against being diverted from

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their traditional enemies by fear of the Communist menace. There is a lot of elder statesmanship about the danger of supposing too easily that democracy can survive either of the tremendous threats to which it is exposed, and a splendid religious climax in which the inmates of the seminary are exalted to rise from their knees, set aside the devotional literature, and praise the Lord and pass the ammunition.

All this is splendid if the forces of progress can be enabled to identify the enemy preferably some time before the whites of its eyes are visible. Mr. Strachey does not see the enemy at present in the suave personalities who govern us; because the Edens, the Butlers and the Macmillans are judicious politicians they will not lightly break up the partnership between capitalism and enlightenment which is the commodity they have sold to the electorate. He does me the honour of identifying me with, on the one hand, an anonymous group called "younger Conservative intellectuals," and, on the other, Lord Eustace Percy, as the nucleus of the enemy forces who are with difficulty restrained by our superiors in common sense from attacking the majority principle. So far it is evidently not a combination which is likely to cause much terror within the citadel of faith.

On this two points must be made: this allegedly anti-democratic movement has, as Mr. Strachey points out, taken its stand on the view that the natural tendency of democracy to-day is to consume more than it produces and to fail to set aside a large enough part of its resources for future development. Mr. Strachey adds: "These fatal characteristics of democracy have been discovered just at the moment when majority rule, working, as we have seen, almost as powerfully upon the party of the right as on the party of the left, is pushing the economy along paths profoundly unwelcome to 'the 10%'—a judgment which displays a comprehensive ignorance of the nineteenth-century literature of politics to be explained only by the fact that seminaries naturally observe the Index. Be this as it may, however, the criticism stands and is implicit in everything which economists say about our present situation;

if the capitalist countries saved too much in the 'thirties, they save too little now, and if Mr. Strachey is ever again a member of a government which has to cut public expenditure he will know that this has something to do with democracy. In the second place, what we alleged critics of the majority principle are saying is nothing more than that the weaknesses of democracy had better be understood if democracy is to remedy them. We welcome the pressures which democracy has exerted on capitalism and we wish to control them by statesmanship; we believe that this sort of tension is inseparable from the existence of a free society, and we hold that neither the majority principle nor anything like it can survive if they are overcome at the cost of concentrating power in a centralized State.

Mr. Strachey is an honest and a formidable thinker; if it is hard for most people to make contact with him, it is because his book is not so much a contribution to contemporary politics as a piece of sectarian exegesis. T. E. UTLEY.

#### FROM TWEED TO FORTH

THE LOWLANDS OF SCOTLAND. By Maurice Lindsay. Robert Hale. 18s.

MR. MAURICE LINDSAY is a poet, and sees things with a poet's eye, which of itself is a valuable, if not an essential, qualification in one who would write about the Scottish scene. For places are only interesting when connected with persons—when seen, that is, historically—and only a poet can truly interpret history. Moreover, in a book such as this which surveys Edinburgh, the Borders, and all the Lowlands south of the Forth with the exception of Glasgow, the historical aspect is necessarily paramount.

But Mr. Lindsay is not only a poet, he is also a perfervid Scot. This means, not that he foolishly exalts his own people and way of life at the expense of others, but that the love he bears them outweighs all lesser prejudice. This enables him to be, to a rare and refreshing degree, fair-minded. It is not easy, for instance, to hold Knox in abhorrence and at the same time not make a saint out of Mary; it is rare indeed to be able to hold the scales

## From Tweed to Forth

even being, let us say, Richard Cameron and the Duke of Lauderdale. These feats of compassionate assessment are accomplished gracefully and arise from an aloofness which comes, not of indifference, but of pride of race, and raise the level of this book, taken as a whole, far above the ordinary.

There are one or two misprints: Dundas, not Douglas (p. 122); Clarty, not Cartley, Hole (p. 159); and four slight errors occur in Hew Ainslie's stanzas quoted on p. 218. Further, is it not a confusion of architectural terms to refer to a "crowned steeple" in connection with St. Giles? And must it be assumed that Chancellor Seafield's remark about an "auld sang" was uttered "contemptuously"? One would have thought, on the contrary, that it was the echo of sadness in that valedictory salute which has above all ensured its having been preserved so vividly in the minds of succeeding generations. Again, was it necessary to resurrect the old and now discredited story of James IV's dalliance with the Lady of Ford on the eve of Flodden and further still, to attribute to Surrey's consequent knowledge of the Scottish plans the outcome of the battle on the following day? The Scots' plans were very simple: to remain where they were. Surrey would have gained little by knowing them beforehand.

As to the ship *Great Michael*, we are given to understand that she was so useless a vessel that she was palmed off on the French. This hardly accords with the facts. She went to France in 1513 as an active participant in the campaign against England. That she remained there was only due to the fact that in the confusion of the following years there was no voice of sufficient authority left in Scotland to demand her return.

It would be unfair to call an author to account for omissions in a work of this kind, especially omissions of detail, but it is a pity nevertheless that in this case so little mention is made of the greater houses in the Lowland counties, other than ruins. Hopetoun is, after all, not the only fine mansion in West Lothian; nor

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*Nelson's Medieval Texts* 205

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is Bemersyde in Berwickshire. Moreover, to be unfairer still, had Mr. Lindsay had time to look inside the kirk at Colmonell he would have found what is probably the finest collection of modern stained glass in the country, as well as a reminder, in the shape of a memorial, of the fact that John Snell, of Oxford scholarships' fame, was once a native of that parish.

It is impossible, however, to quarrel with a man who, on the wider issues, can speak words of such wisdom on the Burns cult as he does and in the particular, can render due praise to "Braw, braw lads," that loveliest of all Scottish tunes. Nor surely can any native of Edinburgh be ungrateful to one who can pay so memorable a tribute as this to the city of his birth: "In Edinburgh, the northern light plays about the Old Town and humanizes the New; it flashes blue glints of the Forth up hilly streets, and carries the fair gold fringe of Fife to the very crown of George Street."

JOHN McEWEN.

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**LONGMANS**

## IN A COLD CLIMATE

AYORAMA. By Raymond de Coccolla and Paul King. *Oxford University Press.* 21s.

WHITE men have explored and traded and lived in Canada's far north for several centuries. The earlier pioneers brought back no more detailed written accounts than their log books. It is only in the last two decades that the Eskimo has attracted the attention of those who could really write. And it takes a powerful writer to hold the attention of the reader, in the urbanized countries of the West, to a thread of narrative about something so remote and so strange.

Civilized man has come a long way from his elemental predecessor. But the Eskimos to-day are as all men once were. They do not change because their conditions of life do not change. They speak a language so complicated that beside it English is a mere primitive dialect, yet their tribes have names of such biblical simplicity as The People of the Big River, The Seal People, The Fish People, and The People at the Back of the Earth. Theirs is a hard environment, with nature at its cruellest, and sometimes at its most beautiful; half the year in darkness and half the year with no night. Much that we hold in an awe which never lessens, is to them simple. Birth and death have no mysteries. Among many of the tribes, such as the one the writer describes, it is a simple decision, and one involving no great thought, to decide whether a girl baby shall be allowed to live or at what stage an elderly person shall be exposed to die.

When life is a battle against nature, as it is with all primitive people, emotion is a luxury. No! the least of the hardships is boredom. This is something which is little appreciated and a factor to which we have not so far given sufficient weight in much of our Colonial administration in Africa and elsewhere. Thus, hunting provides the great thrill in life, and is the only measurement of excellence between one man and another. The greatest of Eskimo pleasures is the gathering together round the seal oil



## In a Cold Climate

lamp in the winter snowhouse, or outside the skin tents in the summer light, and just talking and joking and discussing the news which a traveller has brought. They have all the excitement from conversation which we people who write things down have largely lost. I once did a trip in Baffin Land of about seven days by dog team to the next Hudson's Bay Company post. I stayed in an Eskimo encampment each night and, as I went from place to place, I received more news which had to be related. The first night it took me about ten minutes, but the snowball of news and gossip took, on the sixth night, an hour to recount. And the Eskimo is capable of affection, not so much between man and wife but between parents and their children.

It is easy to dwell on the dirt and squalor of an Eskimo encampment, but important to remember that these people have what can equally be accounted a civilization. Cleanliness is next to godliness, but we are apt to invert the order of priority. They have a natural politeness which would put the French to shame, and men lose their lives there for no more than an act of impoliteness. Above all, they are serene in their minds in many matters in which we are still groping.

In the literature of Eskimo life, this book will rank very high. The writer so plainly knows what he is talking about. I suspect that he is a very brave man, as he faced great hardships with a poor physique. He sustains the reader's interest, however often he may stumble over the long, jagged Eskimo names. A trader, as I was, can share the life of the Eskimos and take them as they are, but a missionary, such as the writer, is dedicated to converting them to a belief. "Ayorama" means "It can't be helped." A man must be dedicated indeed to keep his mental balance with a people whose views on life and death are so very different, who can appear to absorb so much of our teaching and then backslide with the bland faces of children and say, "It can't be helped." In the effort to teach them the author's faith never deserted him.

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## Novels

MONMOUTH HARRY. A. M. Maughan.  
*Hodder & Stoughton.* 15s.

THE WILLING FLESH. Willi Heinrich.  
*Weidenfeld & Nicolson.* 16s.

TRAIN TO PAKISTAN. Khushwant Singh.  
*Chatto & Windus.* 12s. 6d.

... AND THE RAIN MY DRINK. Han Suyin. *Cape.* 16s.

PETER PERRY. Michael Campbell. *Heinemann.* 13s. 6d.

GIANT'S ARROW. Anthony Rye. *Gollancz.* 12s. 6d.

ESSAYS could be, probably have been, written on the theme "Is fiction a good medium for purveying fact?" The majority of the books listed above could be brought into the argument.

First there is the historical novel *Monmouth Harry*: fiction inasmuch as A. M. Maughan's account of what Henry V (and

her other characters) thought and said is a matter of imagination. But the facts seem solid enough, and they and the imagination are blended, with considerable skill, to produce an explanation of Henry's conduct as Prince and King. The hypothesis is that he neither wanted to be King nor thought that he should be, with his father a usurper and possibly a murderer. From this—a shade less plausibly?—the author proceeds to draw Henry as the holder of very modern conceptions of Kingship—if one whose prowess as a General (despite Agincourt) seems to decrease as he grows out of boyhood. I dare say that historians will have faults to find with this book; as a layman I found it as interesting as readable.

Next we have recent history. *The Willing Flesh* relates the adventures and sufferings of a group of German soldiers (with Sergeant Steiner the central figure, and perhaps a little larger than life) down by the Black Sea after the fall of Stalingrad when obviously the war had been lost. Fundamentally this is the same book as, say, *All Quiet on the Western Front*, even though it has different characters, different episodes, and a very different background. It is vividly and powerfully told (well but anonymously translated) with the brutality and coarseness to be expected in such a war-book; and it presents, convincingly, a savage battlefield such as few of us could imagine for ourselves. What is questionable in it as history seems to me to be that one is left more conscious of enmity between Germans than between Germans and Russians.

We are brought a little further up to date by *Train to Pakistan*. In it Khushwant Singh transports us to as unfamiliar and bewildering a scene as any wartime Caucasus: a village on the India-Pakistan border at the moment of partition, with a mixed population of Sikhs and Muslims, and having within its peaceful self no awareness of the new conflicts and violence. But it is not to escape. It is on a main railroad, and the train that brings a cargo of murdered Sikhs brings the end of peace and sanity. Or does it? At the end there is a gleam of hope due, ironically,

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## NOVELS

to the character whom we first met as the village's evil-doer. Though the events and persons in this book (by the way, no European appears in it) are foreign to our Western experience, it is a welcome contribution to understanding of Indian history.

Han Suyin brings us right up to date. Here is to-day's Malaya seen through Chinese eyes and presented in sorrow and pity rather than in anger. Indeed, where there is anger it is with individuals convicted of cruelty rather than with systems guilty of stupidity. Perhaps the author would reply that since . . . *and the Rain my Drink* is fiction, there was no place for emotion in its writing. Fiction no doubt it is, in so far as neither characters nor episodes are taken direct from life, but though they are imaginary they are, it is plain, meant to be seen, however narrowly; as typical. It is hard not to compare this sensitive book with a documentary film: one which disturbingly illuminates a scene overshadowed by misunderstanding. Its flaws are its lack of controlling pattern, and the abruptness of its stylistic transitions.

There is no historical or sociological urge about *Peter Perry*: the amusing account of the peculiar life led by a tall, elderly lady of Bohemian taste as observed by a nephew who encounters her for the first time when he comes to stay with her in Dublin. There is a gallery of entertaining characters (most of them Irish) in addition to Peter herself, and several scenes of real comedy. There is an ostensible reason why the book should begin and end when it does (the nephew's visit has to begin and end), but I feel that here is the weakness. There is no mainspring, and no hints at something that may underly Peter's oddity can provide this.

And so finally to what is most certainly a novel, strictly non-historical but with a pivotal theme of sociological importance. In *Giant's Arrow* the destinies of two men and four women are violently, tragically affected by parental desires or refusals to bring children into the world. The mechanics of the plot may be a little obvious, the verisimilitude of its background uneven, but Anthony Rye has

drawn his characters decisively, he is very successful in developing and displaying the shifts of their relationships and the stresses which are produced, and so he has achieved a book which not only is impressive in itself but strongly suggests that he is an author of whom we may hereafter expect a great deal.

MILWARD KENNEDY.

## BOOKS IN BRIEF

PROFESSOR J. M. COCKING'S study of Proust (Bowes & Bowes, 7s. 6d.) is the first critical work on this writer which takes into account *Jean Santeuil* and the papers now collected under the title *Contre Sainte-Beuve*. An admirable little book in which the author points out that "Proust's spirit is not the breath of life itself, but a refinement and enrichment of life."

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**COLLINS**

## THE NATIONAL AND ENGLISH REVIEW

Various books about William Beckford have appeared in recent years, but there is a place for H. A. N. Brockman's *The Caliph of Fonthill* (Werner Laurie, 21s.), in which the author gives the story of the building of Fonthill Abbey and the atmosphere in which it was created. There is an interesting Foreword by Nikolaus Pevsner.

In *To the Hustings* (Cassell, 18s.) H. G. Nicholas has assembled an anthology of election scenes from English fiction ranging from Thomas Love Peacock to R. J. Cruikshank. Mr. Nicholas contributes an excellent introduction.

*Interval in Indo-China* (Macmillan, 12s. 6d.) is a "personal scrapbook" written by Andrew Graham while he was Assistant Military Attaché at Saigon from 1952 to 1954. His notes are acute, humorous and informative. A delightful book.

"Why is it," asks Henry Miller, "that I adore Rimbaud above all other writers?" He poses this question in *The Time of the Assassins* (Spearman, 12s. 6d.). This is a study of Arthur Rimbaud, but there is more of Miller in it than Rimbaud. It can be recommended to the admirers of the American writer.

A collection of letters, recently discovered, makes up *Intercepted Post* (Bodley Head, 16s.). It has been edited by Donald Nicholas and it consists of letters written at the time of Prince Charles Edward's descent upon the lowlands of Scotland, his stay in Edinburgh, and his march to Carlisle in August to December, 1745. The editor has added a connecting story and has done all he can to find out who the correspondents were. The letters vary very much in interest.

Monica Krippner now adds *Austria Invites* (Hutchinson, 16s.) to her other guide books in the same series. Well produced, illustrated, with maps, and full of information concisely given, this is the most up-to-date book on the subject, the

first to appear since Austria regained her full independence.

It seems that Jack Lindsay takes the view that the integrity of an author's work can only be maintained if he aligns himself with the basic struggle of the people. With this in mind he surveys the present and future of the novel in Britain in *After the Thirties* (Lawrence & Wishart, 15s.). It is a pity that such an able man of letters should allow his able critical powers to be at the mercy of his ideological pre-occupations.

Among the ablest American writers Edmund Wilson takes a high place. *Red, Black, Blond and Olive* (W. H. Allen, 25s.) contains his studies in four civilizations: Zuni, Haiti, Soviet Russia, and Israel. Brilliantly written, these impressions, with the exception of the Russian memories, have been written since the war.

*Shakespeare in His Age* (Duckworth, 30s.) is another of F. E. Halliday's admirable Shakespearean studies, and in it he makes a most successful attempt to relate the dramatist to the epoch in which he lived. It will be most valuable to the reader who wants to know what was happening when Shakespeare "was doing this and writing that."

E. G.

### Financial

## MARKET REVIEW

By LOMBARDO

THE Stock Market has been influenced, above all else, by the Suez Canal crisis in the few weeks since my last survey, which went to press just before Colonel Nasser assumed control of the installations of the Canal at the point of the bayonet. The surging confidence of investors, including many in the United States, in the future of the market in oil shares was just receding from its peak when the Nasser announcement was made to a world which had been taking the Egyptian leader's violent speeches rather

## MARKET REVIEW

as the pro-Chamberlain public in Britain had taken the speeches of Hitler to his Brownshirt hordes in 1938. The majority of people with money to invest had been reckoning on the inevitable expansion of the use of oil during the next few years and had bought the leading Middle East oil shares to lock away as investments which were bound to give a good return over a long term. All the statistics of oil consumption had supported this view, and only those with special knowledge of the Arab countries could have rearranged their investments because of the possibility, much less the probability, that Egypt's dictator would take sudden and violent action which would endanger the supply of oil from the Middle East to Europe.

To put the oil market, which has been the main sphere of activity since I last wrote, into proper perspective, it is necessary to recall the developments in the leading shares up to July 27, which was the day that dealings were first affected by the news of Nasser's troops taking control of the Canal. The prices of British Petroleum and Burmah Oil shares can be taken as a fair guide to market opinion. The top prices in this year for the former had been 183/6 and for the latter 117/6, and the prices on July 23 were 174/- and 111/9 respectively. Both shares put on several shillings the following day and then encountered profit taking. These issues are freely bought and sold in New York, so they are subject to a considerable extent to Wall Street's wide fluctuations.

It so happened that July 24 saw the top of a sustained rise in these share prices and that substantial selling occurred on both sides of the Atlantic on July 25 and 26. When the Suez news hit the London market on the 27th, therefore, the prices were already declining. In hectic dealings on that day, the B.P. price fell 8/9 to 165/- and Burmah's fell about 8/- to around 103/9. Within a week the price levels had further declined steeply, as the situation appeared more grave, and by August 7 B.P. had gone down to around 148/9 and Burmah's to about 92/6, after being lower. There are many who now assert that Sir Anthony Eden should have anticipated the

seizure of the Canal, but there are few who can claim their prescience caused them to sell their oil shares just before the Nasser announcement and then buy them back at a handsome profit on the fall.

As the daily news of the Anglo-French discussions with Mr. Dulles and the proposed Canal Conference came to the market prices fluctuated widely. Most sections were affected but none so severely as the oil shares. The Prime Minister focused attention on the dangers to industry of any major interference with our Middle East oil supplies, but industrial shares remained comparatively steady. It was evident that the public could not believe that oil might not continue to flow regularly into our refineries, and that investments in good industrial companies might be endangered. When the British Government reacted strongly to the Egyptian military occupation of the Canal and Colonel Nasser abandoned violent speeches to adopt "sweet reasonableness" and a carefully correct policy of non-interference with Canal traffic and payment of dues, investors began to think the prices of the oil shares had been pushed too low, and optimistic buying soon raised the levels several points.

As I write the Canal Conference is just getting into its stride, and B.P. shares have risen to around 155/-. Burmah's are about 96/-, after rushing recently to almost £5. Obviously the oil market will fluctuate violently as speculators' hopes and fears wax and wane, but a settlement of some sort will be found, and the flow of oil will continue. Perhaps the rate of expansion of oil consumption by industry may slow down, and the quotations for oil shares will be adjusted on a steadier basis. By the time these words are in print the probabilities will be known.

The Suez theme has tended to obscure all others, but significant developments have occurred at home and abroad. The British Motor Corporation dispute has taken a minor place in the headlines, but the attitude of the unions to redundancy before they agreed to a resumption of work was important in its implications for the future of labour relations. Com-



pensation for lack of employment is a new demand that is not likely to recommend itself to employers who are struggling to maintain their sales in competitive markets, and it is obvious that the unions will find it hard to maintain the argument if export orders diminish and the credit squeeze keeps home sales on a lower level. If the engineering unions press the claim for a substantial wage increase holders of U.K. industrial shares might become sellers on an unwilling market.

These industrial and political uncertainties have increased public interest in dollar stocks, and Canadian issues have been especially popular over the past few weeks. The vigorous expansion in the development of oil and minerals in the Dominion has so attracted investors that share prices have steadily risen. At one moment the dollar premium was driven up to over 8 and share prices, particularly of those companies connected with oil development, rose to a level which dis-

counted potentialities for a long way ahead. The market is unsteady because speculation is rife. Hudson's Bay shares rose to 224/- and relapsed to 211/- within twenty-four hours. In spite of fluctuations, Canadian shares will continue to attract investors, and whatever happens to Middle East oil shares as a result of the London Conference or any subsequent discussion, the expansion of the Canadian oilfields will bring rich rewards to shareholders.

The home industrial market has been steady and if no major upheaval occurs to endanger profit margins it should remain steady about this level. The impending wage demands must cause the Chancellor some concern since the progress he has made in checking spending at home could be nullified by an increase of many millions in the wage packets. Seasonal pressure on the pound could cause exchange difficulties in the autumn, and it may be that this market will reflect some nervousness during October if adverse trade figures add to the uncertainties of wage demands. Investors will also be keeping an eye on the American scene where the coming election could affect Wall Street prices violently.

LOMBARDO.



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## RECORD REVIEW

By ALEC ROBERTSON

### *Orchestral*

SIR ADRIAN BOULT and the Philharmonic Promenade Orchestra continue their excellent Brahms series with a warm-toned performance of the Second Symphony (D major) that gives full value to the many lyrical beauties in the work—the coda to the first movement is surely the most magical thing Brahms ever composed—and successfully unravels the complex writing in the slow movement. There is also an excellent performance of the *Academic Festival Overture*, as “fill-up,” which, in the best sense, pays more attention to the first word than to the second

## RECORD REVIEW

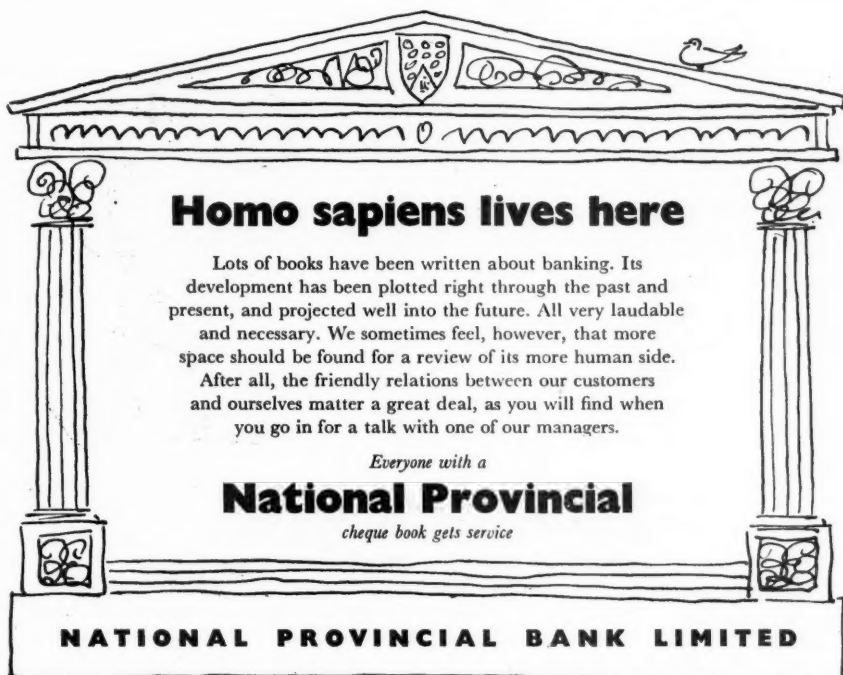
of the title, and allows one to forget raised beer mugs (Pye-Nixa NCL16001).

Bruno Walter, with the New York Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra, includes both this and the *Tragic Overture* with the Double Concerto for Violin and Cello and Orchestra (played by Isaac Stern and Leonard Rose) on Philips ABL3139—very good value. Previous LP recordings of the Concerto have not been satisfactory, the soloists being ill-matched or poorly balanced with the orchestra; but here all is well, the playing is superb, and Walter, refusing to underline the romanticism of the work, gives an extraordinarily powerful treatment of it. The performances of the Overtures are equally fine and the recording is excellent.

Very good value, also, are three of Liszt's symphonic poems—*Prometheus*, *Mazeppa*, *Hamlet*, with the first *Mephisto* waltz, played by the Paris Conservatory Orchestra conducted by Karl Münchinger (Decca LXT5142).

*Mazeppa*, an expanded version of one of the *Transcendental Studies* for piano, is not among the best of the symphonic poems and suffers from one of Liszt's commonplace marches, but *Prometheus*, which embodies the idea of suffering for the sake of enlightenment (and has a middle section in the form of a fugue) is well worth hearing, and in the concert hall is all too rarely heard. Liszt subtitled it "Sorrow and Glory." *Hamlet* is the finest of all his works in this form, a remarkable psychological study of its hero, with references to Ophelia in two short interludes directed "to be kept as quiet as possible" and to sound "like a shadowy picture of her," and a funeral march that is far from commonplace. The performances of these works are all very good, with much sensitive playing.

Sir Arthur Bliss's *Colour Symphony*, played under his direction by the L.S.O., was composed thirty-four years ago and naturally shows its age. The composer



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## THE NATIONAL AND ENGLISH REVIEW

later dropped the suggestive titles given to the movements, such as "Purple, the colour of amethysts, pageantry, royalty, and death," which I rather regret, though the music is self-sufficient and has much of his vitality and exuberance. The "fill-up," *Introduction and Allegro*, is another early work and an attractive one. Performances and recording are excellent (Decca LXT5170).

*Also recommended.* Mendelssohn's G Minor and D Minor Piano Concertos (Nos. 1 and 2), played by Peter Katin and the L.S.O. under Anthony Collins. Decca LXT5201.

### Chamber Music

Dvořák's enchanting "Dumky" Trio (E minor) for violin, piano and cello is given a superlatively good performance by the Hansen Trio, in which the pianist (Conrad Hansen) particularly excels. This beautifully recorded work should break down any prejudice against chamber music (Telefunken LGM65034) and so,

indeed, should the members of the Vienna Octet's lovely performance of Mozart's B Flat Major Divertiments, K287, for two horns and string quartet. Einstein calls it a Carnival work, but with "a grand, crowning closing movement" and a second *Adagio* that becomes "a true, deeply felt violin concerto slow movement." This is entirely captivating music (Decca LXT5112).

The adjective cannot be applied to Vaughan-Williams's rugged Violin and Piano Sonata in A Minor but is in tune with Arthur Benjamin's delightful *Sonatina* for the same forces. The composer accompanies Frederick Grinke in his work and Michael Mullinar the Vaughan Williams, both performances being first-rate (Decca LXT5143).

### Instrumental

Katchen gives fine performances, well recorded, of Chopin's B Flat Minor and B Minor Piano Sonatas without, in the latter, effacing memories of Lipatti's

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## Record Review

glorious playing. Mr. Katchen is to be commended for observing the *sotto voce* direction in the terrifying finale of the B Flat Minor Sonata—only thus can its macabre character be realized (Decca LXT5093).

### Opera

A recorded performance of *Götterdämmerung* complete, but for one unfortunate cut of forty important bars after Hagen's Monologue in Act I, that also brings us Kirsten Flagstad in wonderful voice (at sixty-one!) most of the time as Brünnhilde is decidedly to be welcomed, and inclines one to be mild about its shortcomings. These are centred in weak performances of Hagen and Gunther, a balance that unduly favours the voices, and a closing scene that is less good than the rest, and cannot compare with the fine one Flagstad recorded with Furtwängler on H.M.V. ALP1016. Set Svanholm is the experienced Siegfried and the rest of the cast (apart from the two exceptions mentioned above) are perfectly adequate. Their names are unknown here. Oivin Fjeldstad, the conductor, must be forgiven the cut in Act I he insisted on for the general excellence of his interpretation of the tremendous work, and for the good results he gets from the Oslo Philharmonic Orchestra, Norwegian State Radio Orchestra and Opera Chorus. There are inequalities, but this is, to my mind, a most welcome issue and one that, with Flagstad in her finest role, seemed to be past hoping for (Decca LXT5205-10).

*Also recommended.* A delightful and vivid performance of Britten's *The Little Sweep*, from *Let's Make an Opera*, by the English Opera Group and various others, under the composer's direction (Decca LXT5163) and a very good one, animal noises and all, of Stravinsky's curiously fascinating *Renard*. Ansermet directs this, and also *Apollo Musagetes*, with the Suisse Romande Orchestra, and Cuenod and Rehfuss are among the four accomplished male singers of the fearfully difficult vocal parts (Decca LXT5169).

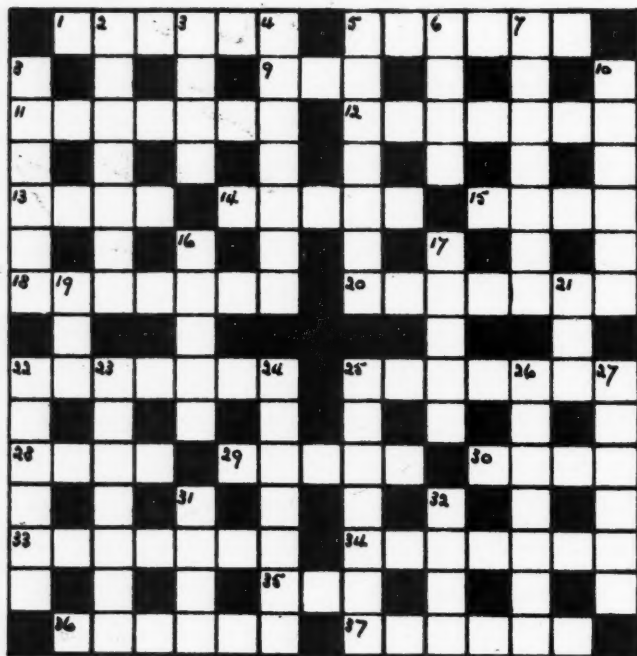
ALEC ROBERTSON.

# They say

Bliss CONCERTO FOR VIOLIN AND ORCHESTRA; THEME AND CADENZA FOR SOLO VIOLIN AND ORCHESTRA—Campoli/L.P.O./Sir Arthur Bliss (Decca LXT 5166\*): '... one of their very best recordings, of great clarity but warm tone.' (L.S.—'The Gramophone'—June, 1956.) 'Campoli... copes with the very difficult solo part as if it were child's play, ...' (Humphrey Searle—'The Gramophone Record Review'—June, 1956.)  
Rachmaninov PIANO CONCERTO NO. 2 IN C MINOR—Clifford Curzon/L.P.O./Sir Adrian Boult (Decca LXT 5178\*): 'The balance is excellent... the recording quality is very fine, and altogether I would strongly recommend this disc.' (R.F.—'The Gramophone'—June, 1956.) 'Curzon proves himself a great virtuoso... the whole thing is brilliantly recorded.' ('E.M.G. Monthly Letter'—May, 1956.)  
Mendelssohn PIANO CONCERTOS: NO. 1 IN G MINOR; NO. 2 IN D MINOR—Peter Katin/L.S.O./Anthony Collins (Decca LXT 5201): 'A two star record... The soloist's polished, shapely playing is finely supported by the orchestra; his tone is always beautiful, and the recording is first-rate.' (A.P.—'The Gramophone'—August, 1956.) 'These are excellent performances from every point of view, receiving fine, clear recording... ' ('E.M.G. Monthly Letter'—July, 1956.) • 20TH CENTURY ENGLISH SONGS—Peter Pears/Benjamin Britten (Decca LW 5241): 'Peter Pears sings all these songs with intelligence and is very finely accompanied and recorded.' ('E.M.G. Monthly Letter'—May, 1956.)

\* One of 'The Gramophone Record Review' Records of the Month selections.

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CLUES

ACROSS

1. Described by Disraeli as the gondola of London (6).
5. Please pass (6).
9. Object when a gownsman returns about one (3).
11. Home of the lily maid (7).
12. Drop of salt water (3-4).
13. Fly back a point (4).
14. I go to a seaside town and it's perfect! (5).
15. An arch remark? (4).
18. "No author ever spar'd a . . ." (7). Gay (Fables).
20. A come-down some are proud of (7).
22. Garment worn by the oppressive employer? (7)
25. Supporter of the board (7).
28. Sound organs (4).
29. Entertain a goddess (5).
30. Recess in term, perhaps Easter (4).
33. Clergyman turned conceited by a herb (7).
34. Tree animal gave name to a museum (7).
35. Snubbed when showing injury? (3).
36. Raceme in fine form (6).
37. Just the reverse of fast behaviour! (6).

DOWN

2. Merchant once threatened with loss of weight (7).
3. A seasoned sailor? (4).
4. The bull is his target (7).
5. Middle-aged jewel (7).
6. Italian city involved in a vital battle (4).
7. English beach (7).
8. Unable to begin the alphabet, though obviously well-educated (6).
10. What a waste of space! (6).
16. The child's thank-you letter (5).
17. Byron wrote of Venice "throned on her hundred . . ." (5).
19. It is not done to fight back (3).
21. Love is another name for it (3).
22. Place for hearty exposure by those who lack reserve (6).
23. A murder in the tympanum (7).
24. Heartbroken about a man;—the usual fiction! (7).
25. After the trial ate with a will (7).
26. A great blow to the Chinese (7).
27. One by one (6).
31. Amusement for blondes only? (4).
32. Change with the smallest particle (4).



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## SHAKESPEARE SONNETS

Some glory in their birth, some in their skill;  
Shall I compare thee to a summer's day;  
When I consider everything that grows;  
When forty winters shall besiege thy brow;  
Music to hear, why hear'st thou music sadly;  
So am I as the rich, whose blessed key;  
Weary with toil, I haste me to my bed;  
Is it thy will, thy image should keep open;  
That time of year, thou mayest in me behold;  
Tir'd with all these for restful death I cry;  
Full many a glorious morning have I seen;  
Being your slave what should I do but tend;  
How like a Winter morning hath my absence been.  
Sweet love renew thy force, be it not said;  
To me fair friend, you never can be old;  
When in the chronicle of wasted time;  
As an imperfect actor on the stage;  
Let me not to the marriage of true minds;  
They that have power to hurt, and will do none;  
When in disgrace with Fortune and men's eyes

Scenes from

### "AS YOU LIKE IT"

Rosalind	...	...	...	DAME EDITH EVANS
Orlando	...	...	...	MICHAEL REDGRAVE
Celia	...	...	...	URSULA JEANS
Duke Frederick	...	...	...	PETER COKE
Phoebe	...	...	...	JESSIE EVANS

Act I, Scene 3; Act III, Scene 2 (last part)

Act III, Scene 5 (middle section);

Act IV, Scene 1 (middle section); Epilogue

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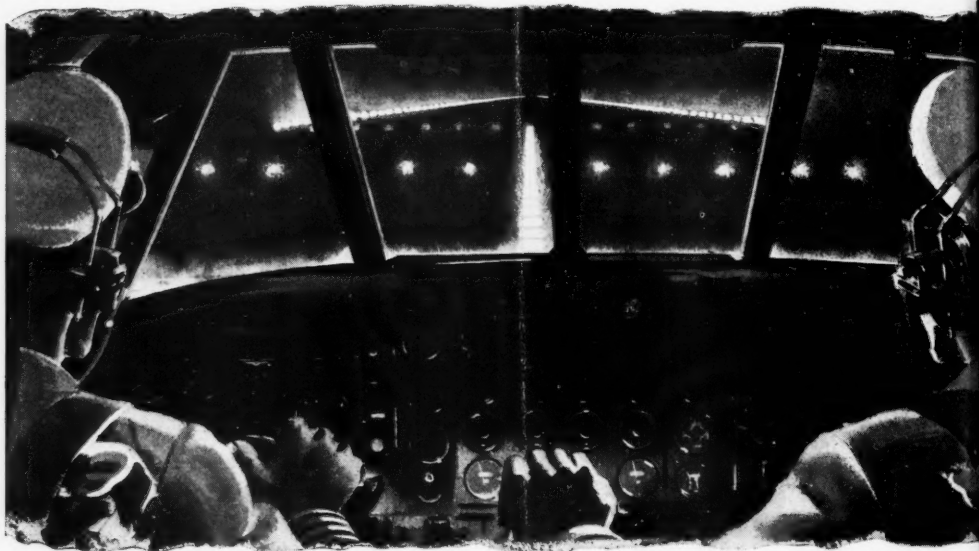
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